

SPEECHES
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THE MARQUESS OF
LINLITHGOW

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SPEECHES BY THE MARQUESS OF LINLITHGOW

VOLUME II

From 1938 to 1943.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS ON AGRICULTURAL MARKETING.

H. E. the Viceroy opened the Conference of Ministers on Agricultural Marketing in New Delhi on the 29th November 1938 with the following speech :—

29th November 1938.

Gentlemen,—I am glad to welcome to the Capital this very representative gathering of Ministers from the Provinces of British India and from the Indian States. Your attendance here today, and many of you have travelled far in order to be with us, is welcome proof of the importance you attach to the subject of Agricultural Marketing. Let me say at once that your interest will be an immense encouragement to all in the Government of India who have been associated with this most important aspect of agricultural improvement.

Sir Jagdish Prasad has referred to my past experience in the field of agricultural marketing. In Great Britain my colleagues and I signed the last of our five reports on the Distribution and Prices of Agricultural Produce in November 1923. These reports led, in 1924, to the setting up of the Marketing branch of the Ministry of Agriculture and in 1928 Parliament passed the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act. I mentioned this because it is of interest to notice that in Great Britain it took about 5 years to get under way from the moment of the initial impulse.

The Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Conference of Ministers on Agricultural Marketing.

In India, as Sir Jagdish has reminded us, the Royal Commission on Agriculture, reporting in 1928, stressed the great importance of Agricultural Marketing and linked it with transportation. In 1934 the Provincial Economic Conference led to the initiation of the present marketing scheme under which the Government of India provide a central staff now consisting of 20 officers, while the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has provided ten lakhs of rupees spread over a period of five years to meet part of the cost of Provincial Marketing Staffs. These grants were made in order that the all-India commodity surveys might be carried out on an uniform basis. But it is worthy of comment that, at each stage, there has been spontaneous co-operation from the autonomous Provinces and States. Each provincial Government has from the outset, at its own cost, provided a Provincial Marketing Officer to take charge of the provincial section of the work ; and several Governments have provided additional marketing staff and, more recently, have taken over some of the experimental developments such as grading stations. Many of the States, of whom no less than 220 have co-operated in this matter, have provided their own marketing staffs, and they have all readily collaborated with the Central Marketing Staff both in the commodity surveys and in such practical matters as marking and grading. In 1937 the Central Legislature passed the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act, and it is significant to notice that in India this stage was reached about three years after Mr. Livingstone's arrival and rather less than two years from the completion of the Marketing Staff. In England, as I have told you, a period of five years elapsed between the setting up of the Marketing branch and the passage into law of the first Marketing Act. It is, I think, encouraging to note that despite the formidable complications and diversities of the Indian marketing system, merchants and

*The Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Conference of
Ministers on Agricultural Marketing.*

market men in this country have shown themselves just as ready as their brethren in the West to avail themselves of well thought out marketing improvements. The position today is that six marketing reports are now complete, and that a further four are well advanced. In congratulating all concerned upon the very promising beginning that has thus been achieved, I feel that I must affirm my conviction, born of my own considerable experience, that adequate preliminary surveys are essential to the construction of sound schemes of marketing. Careful economic reconnaissance is an essential preliminary of every sound scheme, and I would confidently recommend all who are responsible for the construction of such schemes to count neither time nor money wasted which are spent in prosecuting with zeal and efficiency these essential preliminary studies. In work of this nature, anxious as we all of us naturally are to improve producers' prices, it is seldom wise to attempt the short cuts. Rough and ready methods may seem at the outset to give quick results, but those are not the results that will stand the test of time. Organized marketing means the application of scientific methods to the problems of collection and distribution. That is why emphasis is laid on the importance of basing all future action on an adequate assembly of tested facts. Again, in using those facts and in drawing deductions from them, the scientific is the only safe method, which is to mistrust each conclusion until it has been subjected to every possible test.

In India an important stage has now been reached for many marketing surveys have been completed or are well advanced, and broad conclusions have emerged which call for application on a wide scale. It is satisfactory to note that Central and Provincial Staffs did not await the completion of the all-India commodity reports before studying

*The Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Conference of
Ministers on Agricultural Marketing.*

the possibilities of development. At a comparatively early stage the necessity of certain lines of improvement became clear. The standardisation of weights and measures, a wider adoption of the system of regulated markets, which had already proved its value in some parts of India, a fact emphasised by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, are recommendations common to all the reports. It was also apparent from the outset that grading and standardisation, would offer a fruitful field for development and in consequence, on the recommendation of the Provincial Economic Conference of 1934, the preliminary studies on quality necessary for the consideration of grade standards were started simultaneously with the marketing surveys. This stage was followed by the setting up of experimental grading stations for such commodities as fruit, eggs and hides and skins which the surveys showed to be susceptible of such treatment. It was speedily found that, as in other countries, legislative action was needed to protect the marks, and as Sir Jagdish Prasad has said, the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act directed to that purpose was passed by the Central Legislature in February 1937.

It is of interest to note that the total number of experimental grading stations now in operation is about 25.

Standardisation, the determination of grades, is more than agreement on convenient categories of physical attributes—size, colour, purity, water or fat content, and the like. Standards must be very definitely related to the requirements of the consumer, that is to the saleability of the produce. Standardisation is a prerequisite of effective advertisement. Standardisation, the determination and strict adherence to grades, is a key to distant markets, and—given improved world conditions—a sure road to expanding business. But marketing organizations can do some-

*The Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Conference of
Ministers on Agricultural Marketing.*

thing beyond promoting the orderly and economic distribution and sale of primary produce. An efficient marketing organization should be the grower's intelligence bureau. Often you will find that the cultivator, who cannot himself be in touch with distant and overseas markets, will prefer a crop, or a particular variety of some crop, because of its agricultural advantage, that is, because it is easy to grow, or because it matures at a convenient moment in the seasonal routine of the holding, or appears to give a particularly heavy yield. Sometimes, indeed, a variety will be sown in deference to mere local fashion and familiarity. But the Marketing Officer, who knows the requirements of the ultimate markets and the prices ruling in those markets, is quite frequently in a position to advise the cultivator that he will increase his prospects of profit by growing some variety other than that one which seems to possess the highest agricultural advantage. Evidently this function of a marketing service may be of great value in conditions in which world markets in terms of the relative demand for different kinds of primary produce is—for one reason or another—in a state of change and uncertainty. Causes so different as the development of synthetic substitutes, or the economic aftermath of a war, may substantially promote the demand for one type of produce at the expense of some other. Consider how much loss may be spared to the grower if his marketing organisation—what I have called his intelligence bureau—is able to provide him with very early warning of such a change in demand.

The improvement of marketing offers a fruitful field for co-operation between the Central Government, Provinces and States. The development of marketing, in the main, falls within the provincial sphere, but the main problems are of a wider character. Though the produc-

*The Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Conference of
Ministers on Agricultural Marketing.*

tion of many commodities is localised, but the areas of concentration are scattered throughout the country and are not confined to any particular Province or State, the consumption of a product is generally spread over the whole country and many are of all-India importance both as regards our internal and export trade. Wider issues relating to the finance of the primary producer are also involved, since marketing reforms are essential before the commercial banks can fully develop a system of short-term produce advances. In the report of the Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank of India for 1933 it is stated that short-term advances for marketing produce should be regarded as one of the most important parts of banking business, but that the commercial banks have hitherto been unable to develop produce advances to the extent of their capacity owing to the extraordinary diversification and vagueness of market conditions throughout India and the manner in which produce contracts are drawn. In this connection, the Report stresses the importance of the following improvements in marketing, machinery and practice : (i) a reasonable standardisation of the staples and of the contracts relating to them ; (ii) the provision, in properly regulated markets and elsewhere, of suitable storage under conditions which would permit of proper insurance ; and (iii) the establishment where possible and advisable of properly-regulated forward markets permitting of " hedging " and thus to the mitigation of violent market fluctuations. It is therefore satisfactory to note that an agreement has been reached with the principal trade associations for standard future contracts for wheat and linseed, and that discussions are well advanced in regard to standards for groundnuts and coffee. Equally to be welcomed is the progress now being

The Viceroy's Speech at Darbhanga.

made in several provinces with legislation for the setting up or improvement of regulated markets. As progress is made with these two items, the consideration of the establishment of more adequate terminal or future markets would be possible. To what extent provinces will, in future, require assistance from a central marketing staff in this and cognate matters is one of the matters which the Conference will consider.

In conclusion let me again say how great a pleasure it is to me to welcome you here today, and how entire is the confidence I feel that your labours in this Conference will contribute in substantial degree to the promotion in India of orderly and efficient marketing of agricultural produce, an object of the utmost importance both to the cultivator and to the people at large.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT DARBHANGA.

H. E. the Viceroy made the following Speech at Darbhanga on Sunday, the 11th December 1938, at a dinner given by the Maharajadhiraja :—

11th December 1938.

Maharajadhiraja, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Let me first of all thank our kind host of this evening most sincerely for his most hospitable welcome and for the charming speech to which we have just listened. My wife and I very greatly appreciate his words of welcome, and it is the greatest pleasure to us to have been able to pay this visit to Darbhanga. We only regret that, owing to circumstances outside our control, this visit should be such a short one, that we should have but a glimpse of the Darbhanga Raj, and that it should not have been possible for us to visit the Agricultural Farm to which we had been looking forward with such interest. I hope that circumstances may make it possible before the end of my Viceroyalty again to visit the Maharajadhiraja in his own home.

The Viceroy's Speech at Darbhanga.

I am well aware of the great territorial interests which you, Maharajadhiraja, represent. You have referred in your speech to my strong desire to assist the advance of the rural community to a fuller life : and you know of my own deep and abiding feeling for the countryside and the close interest which I have always taken in the welfare of the land and in the prosperity of those connected with it. I am delighted in these circumstances to meet here tonight so many representatives of great land-owning families representing long traditions in their various provinces. This is not the occasion for a political speech, and following your example I do not propose to talk politics tonight. But I shall not I think be straying beyond the appropriate limits if I refer in two words to the great importance of the landed interest, its potentialities for good, and the contribution which it is in a position to make to the welfare of the countryside—whether in terms of the improvement of the condition of tenantry, or in terms of the development of natural resources and the introduction of up-to-date appliances and methods of farming. Very much has I know been done in this direction already by enlightened landlords. Much must inevitably remain to be done in a country of the size of India, a country distinguished by such varieties of soil, climate and agricultural problems, and I am sure that you, Gentlemen, with your great experience and your great responsibilities, are as fully alive to this as anyone can be.

I thank you most warmly, Maharajadhiraja, on behalf of my wife and my daughters for the most kind remarks which you have been so good as to make about them. There is nothing that would give greater happiness to Lady Linlithgow than to feel when she leaves this country that she has been able to contribute something to the combating of the scourge of tuberculosis, and she asks me to thank

*His Excellency's speech at the opening of the Annual Meeting
of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India, Calcutta.*

you on her behalf for your reference to the efforts which she has been making in this direction.

I thank you once again on behalf of all of us for so delightful a visit, our enjoyment of which is out of all proportion to the too short time we have been able to spend at Darbhanga. I will not fail to convey, as you desire me, to His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor the expression of your loyalty and devotion.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to raise your glasses to the health of our host—the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga.

**HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF
THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATED
CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.**

In opening the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India at Calcutta on Monday, the 19th December 1938, H. E. the Viceroy made the following speech :—

19th December
1938.

Your Excellency, Mr. President and Gentlemen,—
This is the third occasion, Gentlemen, on which I have had the honour of addressing your opening meeting, and I should like to say how glad I am to see you again and how much I appreciate your invitation again to address you.

Let me in the first place thank you, Sir George, and through you the gentlemen who are present here today, for the very warm welcome which you have been good enough to give me. I well know how important are the great commercial interests which you gentlemen and the associations which have sent you here today represent, and the value to me of this expression of your confidence and of your support is very great indeed.

*His Excellency's speech at the opening of the Annual Meeting
of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India, Calcutta.*

I listened with interest to what you said on the matter of labour legislation. Decent and humane conditions of work are, as I am sure you will agree, the most effective antidote to subversive forces in the labour movement : and that consideration has always been present to my Government in their labour legislation. But progress has been tempered with caution ; in every advance undertaken there has been full consultation with the interests concerned, and full weight has at all times been given to the stage of development of labour in this country. My Government entirely share the view that there may well be advantage in the Provinces and the Centre taking counsel together in order to coordinate labour policy so far as local conditions permit, and the whole of this matter is under active consideration.

I am fully sensible of the importance of maintaining close and cordial trade relations between India and Burma, whose mutual trade surpasses in volume the trade between India and any Empire country other than the United Kingdom. With this end in view, my Government will continue to watch with interest the working of the present Agreement.

Like you I welcome the conclusion of the Anglo-American Agreement. I do not propose to touch on this topic at any length, but let me in a word emphasize its economic aspect and its importance as the most noteworthy contribution in recent years towards the problem of rehabilitating international trade.

I listened with great satisfaction to your friendly words of congratulation to my Posts and Telegraphs Department, which cannot but be a real encouragement to them. I trust sincerely that the difficulties you have

*His Excellency's speech at the opening of the Annual Meeting
of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India, Calcutta.*

mentioned in connection with the despatch from home of air mails are now being surmounted, and will not recur.

In your speech, Mr. President, you laid particular stress on the issue of Federation. I wholly agree with you as to the vital importance of that issue, more particularly at the stage which has now been reached. And I hope, Gentlemen, that I shall not unduly strain your patience if in the remainder of my remarks today I devote myself primarily to it.

When I spoke to you in December 1937, I said that there lay ahead of us the achievement of an ideal which was the ideal which inspired the framers of the Government of India Act of 1935, an ideal, I added, for which we owed a deep debt of gratitude to those spokesmen of the Indian States and of British India who had taken part in the deliberations which resulted in the present constitutional scheme. I mentioned my concern to ensure that no avoidable delay occurred in the development of the federal scheme and in the arrangements in connection with it. And I said, too, that I in no way regretted the lapse of time which had taken place in connection with those preparations; for the delay involved gave us the opportunity carefully to scrutinize from every aspect all the features of the scheme, and to give its full and appropriate value to everyone of them.

A year has passed since then. Much further spadework has been done, spadework of great value, for which the Secretary of State and I owe a very real debt, and a debt which we gratefully acknowledge, to those who have given such invaluable help to us. At the stage which we have now reached there may I think be advantage in reviewing briefly the general position, and in bringing our minds back to the considerations which weighed with

His Excellency's speech at the opening of the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India, Calcutta.

Parliament and with the Joint Select Committee when they devised the constitutional scheme the second part of which is now approaching realisation.

I have had the advantage this summer of renewing personal contact with the Secretary of State. And I have been able, too, to renew the same personal contact with Members of both Houses and with His Majesty's Ministers. There has never been any divergence of view—though I have seen that suggested,—between my Noble Friend the Secretary of State, or His Majesty's Government, and myself on the Federal issue, but in speaking to you today I can do so with the additional confidence as to our entire unity of purpose and approach given by my conversations this summer. While I have been away, and since I have returned, a further stage, and a vital one, in the clearing of the approach to Federation has been achieved : and I am glad, gentlemen, to be able to speak to you today with the knowledge that the Princes are shortly to receive the revised draft Instrument, and will be asked to signify within an appropriate interval of time their decision on it.

The federal scheme has, I well know, been the target of many criticisms—from important political leaders, from the press, from private individuals. I have studied those criticisms with all the attention that they deserve, and with the fullest acceptance of the sincerity of purpose underlying them. I can but repeat, in the event, what I have said before, that no criticism of the scheme of Federation embodied in the Act that I have seen advanced was absent from the mind of those of us by whom that scheme was framed. We were fully conscious of the directions in which it was open to attack. We were conscious that no scheme that the wit of man can devise can be free from

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blemish—even from more serious error,—more especially when the situation which it is designed to meet is unique in history, and presents features of such complexity and such difficulty. But our conclusion was, and it is my considered opinion today, that the scheme then devised is the best practicable solution of the great constitutional problem of India.

In framing the Federal scheme, we had in view in the first place, as a consideration of dominant importance, the unity of India. The decisive weight of that factor calls for no argument today. Nor do I see any scheme that holds out a greater hope for the achievement of the political and the constitutional unity of this great country than the scheme of the Act. The achievement of that unity is more important today by a long way than it was even three years ago. It is more important, in the first place, given the change in the European background : and the relation of the new ideologies which we see developing to the ideals which have been and which remain the basis of British policy in India. It is more important, secondly, precisely because provincial autonomy has worked so well. The greater the success of the scheme of provincial autonomy, the greater the degree to which the strong and diverse claims of individual provinces, widely differing in racial and religious composition, in economic and political outlook, assert themselves, the greater is the danger of the development of centrifugal and fissiparous tendencies, and so of the marring of that unity which it has been the object of all of us who care for India's future to see achieved and consolidated.

In measuring the reactions of public opinion to any proposal of major political importance, it is well to remind ourselves that the circumstances of political controversy tend everywhere to magnify and to advertise those points

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as to which there is difficulty or deep divergence of opinion, while those matters as to which there is concord and common agreement are too often—in the heat and dust of the fray—forgotten or set aside. So indeed has it been in regard to the controversy upon the question of All-India Federation. Yet, if the matter be impartially examined, it will be found that upon the essential merits of Federation there is wide and, in some highly important regards, unanimous agreement.

Let me attempt for a moment to probe the deeper reasons—the underlying instincts, upon which rests the understanding, so universal today, of the immense importance to India at this time of attaining a fuller political life without sacrificing the ideal of unity. What are the considerations, historical and contemporary, which have harnessed the wider patriotism of Indians to the heavy task of securing the political integration of their country? Surely it is the deep conviction that upon unity depends the position and prestige of India before the nations, and her capacity to take her due place in the world and to exercise upon world development the influence to which she is entitled by right of her history, her importance and her culture. For the due fulfilment of her destiny, unity is essential. In the past India has suffered much and lost many things as the direct and unescapable penalty of internal schism and division. These truths lie deeply embedded in the historical consciousness of the people. I am convinced that their realisation today contributes most materially to shape opinion upon contemporary problems. Quickening and fortifying these powerful impulses, there is quite evidently a growing comprehension of the position of India in a world which has now beyond doubt entered upon one of those formative periods, the outcome of which must affect the shape of human affairs upon this

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planet for many generations to come. It is certain that, in one shape, or another, such a crisis must impose intense stresses and crucial tests upon all people. That India is aware of these matters, none may doubt. Her statesmen are constantly extending and broadening the range and scope of their survey, her public is increasingly disposed to look outwards towards the great world of international affairs, not as mere spectators, but as those who grasp the significance of India's place in the environment of modern world problems. Such stirrings of the national consciousness are bound soon to seek their due expression. How can they find expression unless unity upon an All-India basis is achieved ?

Upon the economic significance of Federation there can, I imagine, be no serious doubt or dissent, and I am confident that commercial and financial interests throughout India are fully alive to its importance. I venture to hope that those interests, whether Indian or European, will make a direct contribution towards the education of public opinion upon this weighty aspect of federation. The full fruits of union will not ripen in a moment, but I believe that substantial benefits will very soon accrue. Differences and exceptions in the economic field may—no doubt will—survive the achievement of the Federal scheme. That, in the nature of things, is but to be expected. But the achievement of that scheme cannot, in my judgment, but tend to harmonise the interests of all parties without material injury to any ; to weld together from the economic and fiscal point of view, in a manner and to an extent which could not otherwise be looked for, the Indian States and British India ; and to ensure the alleviation of that lack of unity which, whatever its historical explanation, cannot in this sphere but strike the observer as calculated to reduce efficiency, and to hamper

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The development of India's natural resources, and of her commercial and industrial opportunities.

When we last met a year ago, Provincial Autonomy had been in operation for nine months. The experience of those nine months had left me confident that whatever difficulties lay ahead (and the possibility of difficulty and misunderstanding was as present then as it is today), the workability and the essential soundness of the scheme devised by Parliament had proved themselves; and that, whatever criticisms might be levelled on points of detail, the foundation was the right one, and, given understanding and goodwill, the scheme of provincial autonomy sound and workable. I was confident too that the autonomous provincial governments, whatever party they represented, could in the working of provincial autonomy expect in the fullest measure from Governors, from the Services, and, in so far as he was concerned, from the Governor General, friendly and ready cooperation.

Another year's experience of the working of provincial autonomy leaves, I venture to claim, no room for doubt on any of these points. The tributes which Ministers of all political parties have in recent months paid to the work of the great Services speak for themselves. I know from first hand how real is the importance which Ministers attach to the loyal and willing cooperation which they have received. I can speak equally from first hand of the friendly character of the relations between Governors, standing as the King's representatives outside and above party, and their Ministers. As to the working of the special responsibilities, you will, I am sure, agree that the forecast which I gave in my message to India of June last year has been amply and fully realised. He would be a bold man who, today, even in these conditions, excluded

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the possibility, from one cause or other, of difficulty, even of very serious difficulty, in the future. But, on a broad view, the great experiment of provincial autonomy, the transfer of real powers to Ministers elected by an electorate five times the size of any electorate that had previously voted in India, has proved a marked success. And, given the continuance of the goodwill and the understanding which has been given in such full measure, there is no reason today why we should not look with confidence to the future. I have no fear that, given the same goodwill and the same cooperation, the Federal scheme, manned by the joint talent and experience of British India and the Indian States, will not be as great and as significant a success as Provincial Autonomy has been.

I am familiar with the criticism that the Federal scheme is too restricted in its scope. Nor do I over-estimate, in relation to federation, the importance or the value of the inferences to be drawn from the working of provincial autonomy. For all that, when I consider criticisms such as those which I have just mentioned, I cannot but think of the apprehensions expressed, and, I am sure, genuinely and sincerely felt, at the time of the introduction of provincial autonomy. I would ask whether experience has not shown the reality of the powers then transferred, the ready spirit of cooperation of Governors and the Services, the immense potentialities which the scheme of provincial autonomy, whatever hesitations it may have engendered before it was brought into being, has placed in the hands of Ministers. And I would point to the fact that the special responsibilities placed upon Governors by the Act have admitted, over a period of now more than 18 months, of being operated in the manner in which the Act intended them to be operated, without any interference with the orderly development of

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the provincial scheme, and without those frequent clashes between Ministers and Governors which were in so many quarters apprehended as likely. I am confident that, after all allowance has been made for the different setting of the stage, we may look for a similar state of things with the introduction of the Federal scheme.

To draw a strict parallel between the Federal portions of the Act and the provincial portions would be misleading. But I would like to express my own profound conviction of the value and the importance of the orderly processes inherent in the Federal scheme, and of the seeds of development which that scheme contains. I no more under-rate here than in the case of provincial autonomy the sincerity of the doubts which critics of Federation may feel. But I would ask them to give Federation the trial which I am convinced that it deserves. Given goodwill and understanding, I am sure that results of the greatest and most lasting importance to the benefit of India may be looked for from its realisation. I am confident, too, that the Governor General, whoever he may be, will, at all times, in the central as in the provincial sphere, be ready to give the fullest weight to all relevant considerations ; that he will be anxious to help those who are ready to take advantage of any assistance which he may be able to give them ; and that he will be ready to approach the problems of the Centre (and I fully recognise how they differ from the problems in the provincial field) with detachment, openness, and a sincere anxiety to reach the solution best in the interests of India. In these matters the spirit is of more concern than the letter ; and that consideration is one that must at all times be present to those on whom falls the responsibility for government in this country.

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Mr. President, I listened with great interest to your remarks about the Indian States, and I welcome the opportunity that you give me of saying a word about the States in their relation to Federation. The States are as essential an element in a Federation of India as are the Provinces of British India. The unity of India is as dear a thing to them as it is to British India. It was with distinguished leaders of the States that the Federal ideal in its present form originated ; and their contribution to the elaboration of the federal ideal has in the past been material. The decision as to their further contribution must be for them and for them alone to make. No pressure to take a decision in a particular sense will be brought upon the Rulers of the Indian States by His Majesty's Government or by me. Indeed, this matter has throughout been approached with full appreciation of the responsibility which falls upon the individual Ruler who has to take a decision of such momentous consequence to his dynasty and his State. We have done all that lay in our power to apply a just judgment to the points which have been raised by individual States in connection with their accession to Federation and to find the wise and appropriate solution of those points ; and we have, at all times, kept before us the ideal of the unity of India.

The decision whether or not to accede to the Federation of India falls to be taken at a time when the minds of many Rulers are preoccupied with the question of determining the extent to which ideas germinated in different conditions, and arising from wholly different circumstances, are capable of assimilation with the background of their traditions and responsibilities. I realise the difficulty of that problem—none the less great because, while the advice and assistance of the Paramount power is always available to Rulers, it must rest with Rulers

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themselves to decide what form of Government they should adopt in the diverse conditions of Indian States. And, as the Secretary of State has again made clear in the last few days, while the Paramount power will not obstruct proposals for constitutional advance initiated by Rulers, His Majesty's Government have no intention of bringing any form of pressure to bear upon them to initiate constitutional changes. I need not remind you of the close and active interest which so many Rulers have already displayed in this question. But in a field in which, for historical and other reasons, such wide differences in conditions exist, generalizations are dangerous and misleading. The nature of any internal adjustment, the checks and balances appropriately to be applied, cannot wisely in all circumstances be the same, and the fullest weight must be given to all relevant factors by those on whom the responsibility directly falls. But, gentlemen, let us make no mistake about this : if Federation is not to fall short of the high ideal which it has so far constituted, if it is to be a real Federation of all-India, then the collaboration and the participation of the Indian States, and of the tradition they stand for, are essential.

Gentlemen, I have kept you too long and only the importance of this issue is my excuse. It has been my object to reaffirm to you my own faith in the federal ideal : and the importance that in my judgment attaches to its early realisation. Provincial Autonomy and its working have in a sense been a touch-stone. I claim that we are entitled, in the light of the working of Provincial Autonomy, to be of good heart when we contemplate the working of Federation. Provincial Autonomy and Federation, essentially and intrinsically parts one of the other, represent a great decision, all the more significant when

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outlined against the background of world politics. That background is more sombre by far in 1938 than it was in 1935. But the darkening of the background, the emphasis on totalitarian ideologies, have made no difference to the attitude of His Majesty's Government towards Indian constitutional advance. Their policy is unchanged, they remain of opinion that in the interests of India as a whole as well as from the point of view of individual units, whether States or Provinces, the ideal embodied in the Act is that best calculated to achieve results of real and permanent value alike to India and to the component parts of the Federation.

Mr. President, you referred in your remarks to the appeal which I made when I addressed you a year ago—an appeal for goodwill and patience, for their response to which I am profoundly grateful to your Members. Today I would make another appeal—an appeal to India for collaboration, and I would make that appeal even to those who may sincerely doubt the value of the federal scheme, for I am confident that experience will justify my own profound belief in it. I would make an appeal for trust—trust in the sincerity of those by whom the scheme has been devised, trust in the goodwill and the good faith of those by whom it falls to be carried out. I would make an appeal, finally, for patience and for a realisation of the difficulties of others, and I would ask again that, in considering the problems, whether of individuals or of units, the fullest weight be given to all the attendant circumstances. The responsibility to India of all of us who have it in our power to make any contribution to the achievement of the Federal ideal is heavy and immediate, and it is no light reassurance to me, gentlemen, to feel that in whatever effort I may make to bring it into being without delay, I have your goodwill, and your understanding sympathy and support.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF
THE TECHNOLOGICAL LABORATORIES OF THE
INDIAN CENTRAL JUTE COMMITTEE.

d January
1939.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the opening of the Technological Laboratories of the Indian Central Jute Committee at Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 3rd January 1939 :—

Your Excellency and Gentlemen,—Let me at once tell you how great a pleasure it is to me to be present among you today in order to inaugurate the Technological Laboratories of the Central Jute Committee. It is eleven years since my colleagues and I of the Agricultural Commission signed the Report in which we recommended the setting up of a Central Jute Committee. Since that time the experiences of the grower, the manufacturer and the exporter have, as I think you will agree, been such as substantially to strengthen the case for the active prosecution of research—agricultural, technical and commercial—in connection with this most important crop. For my own part I enjoyed, during the years between 1928 and my assumption of my present charge, excellent opportunities of measuring from the manufacturer's point of view the value of industrial research, and I am able with complete assurance to say that that experience entirely confirmed the views which I entertained at the time the Agricultural Commission reported. Indeed, I feel quite sure that the work that will be done in this Laboratory will, within a few years, prove to be of very great value to the jute industry as a whole.

You, Sir Bryce, have paid a well-merited tribute to the work, over many years, of the Bengal Department of Agriculture in the direction of improving the production of jute, and in that connection you have mentioned the importance of securing that a higher crop yield may not be attained at the cost of a fall in the quality of the fibre. To my mind it is the great merit of the plan of research laid down by the Indian Central Jute Committee that that

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plan envisages continuous research over every stage of production, marketing and manufacture, from the seed available to the cultivator to the preparation of the finished article, and also the provision of an improved service of statistics and information. Throughout the range of its activities, the Committee will be concerned at all points, not to supplant, but to supplement and co-ordinate the work of the provincial departments and of the Research Institute of the Indian Jute Mills Association. The co-ordination in research and planning thus secured will, I am persuaded, go far to secure that in the formulation of schemes for improvement in any stage or process, due regard will be had to their relation to the industry as a whole. I do not doubt that among the many factors which make for prosperity, proper weight will be given to the extreme importance of securing a fair return to the cultivator, whose activities must continue to constitute the foundation upon which rests the whole fabric of this highly important industry.

In conclusion, I would wish to congratulate all whose collaboration has made possible the fulfilment of this project. I do not doubt that the future will prove the wisdom of their action, and that the services of this Technological Laboratory which I have now the pleasure of declaring open, and the architects of which I am very glad to see here today and to congratulate on their excellent design, will prove of the greatest value to the Jute Industry as a whole.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE STATE BANQUET AT COCHIN.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the State Banquet at Cochin, on Saturday, the 7th January 1939 :—

7th January
1939.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you

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Cochin.*

most warmly on behalf of Lady Linlithgow and myself for the cordial welcome you have given us. You know how great and real a pleasure it is to us to meet Your Highness again, this time in your own State and in your own capital, and you know, too, I think, how much we have looked forward to our visit to Cochin and to seeing for the first time your lovely State. I know how widely Your Highness has travelled, but I feel sure that there must be few places which you have seen in the course even of travels so wide as yours which can claim a greater degree of natural beauty or a more attractive setting than Your Highness's own State.

The advanced condition of Cochin today : the high degree of literacy and of education of its peoples ; the progressive character of its administration, directly reflect the close and immediate interest taken by Your Highness and your predecessors on the *gadi* in everything calculated to be of importance to your subjects. Your own close and intimate knowledge of all parts of the State, and the first hand knowledge which your extensive touring has given you, has made you well aware of their needs and requirements ; and I well know how concerned Your Highness has always been to apply the knowledge and experience which your travels whether inside or outside of your State has given you in the administration and for the benefit of Cochin.

Your Highness has referred in your speech to the great Cochin Harbour. It must be a source of keen satisfaction to you that your State should contain a harbour which is, as you say, one of the finest in the east, and the creation of which is of such importance from the point of view of the trade and commerce of Cochin and of India as a whole. I gratefully acknowledge the kind expressions which Your Highness has used as to

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the assistance which my Government have been able to give you in connection with the development of your port, and you may be confident that I will not fail to watch the course of its future development with close interest.

Your Highness has been so kind as to refer to my work in connection with the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, and on the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Government of India Bill. I wholly agree with Your Highness as to the vital importance of agriculture in India, and as to the relation of the improvement of agricultural methods to the general prosperity of the country-side. The importance, so fully recognised by Your Highness in your speech, of matters such as the improvement of the breed of cattle and the improvement of marketing arrangements cannot be overestimated : and the closeness of the interest which Your Highness has taken in both these points is well known. During the time I have been in India I have done my utmost to arouse public opinion to the vital significance of the cattle question, and I am glad to think that so generous a response should have been made to my appeals, from so many quarters, whether in the Indian States or in British India. It was a great pleasure to me shortly before I left Delhi for my winter tour to be able to address the opening meeting of the Marketing Conference, which contained representatives of Cochin among other States, and to see for myself how wide and how real is the recognition of the importance of improvements in marketing arrangements alike to the cultivator, and to individual States and Provinces. I trust sincerely that the keen interest now being manifested in the marketing question in all parts of India will continue to develop and expand.

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I warmly welcome the assurance Your Highness has been so kind as to give me in your speech of your ready co-operation in the task that lies before me of the completion of the scheme envisaged by the Government of India Act, and the inauguration of the Federation of India. I do not propose tonight to discuss in any detail the question of Federation. Your Highness and your Government have throughout taken a helpful and constructive attitude in regard to the Federal scheme, and Your Highness is well aware of my views on it. But I would like, if I may, to associate myself to the fullest with Your Highness's remarks as to the fundamental unity of India. That unity, so precious to all who love India, is, I am sure, an ideal that can in no way better be furthered than by the completion of the federal scheme ; and I ventured in remarks which I recently made elsewhere to emphasise the extreme importance of maintaining and consolidating that unity, more particularly in the conditions of the present time. Your Highness is right in thinking that the moment has come when, in your own words, unity even in the political sphere can be achieved for this great country, and I am sure that you are right, too, in your feeling that that unity of India as a whole can be achieved consistently with the safeguarding of the interests of its component parts.

Lady Linlithgow is most grateful to you, as am I, for the interest Your Highness has taken in her appeal on behalf of the King Emperor's Anti-Tuberculosis Fund, and for the generous donation which Cochin has made to the combating of a scourge so heavy in its incidence and so disastrous in its effects.

Let me again thank Your Highness most warmly for your welcome to Lady Linlithgow, my daughters, and myself today ; and let me repeat how great a happiness it

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech on the occasion of the unveiling of the Statue of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin.

has been to us to visit this progressive State, to see its intelligent and highly educated population, to have the opportunity of enjoying its natural beauties, to see Your Highness amongst your own subjects, and to realise how fully they appreciate the many proofs which you have given of your regard for their welfare.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I give you the toast of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF COCHIN.

His Excellency the Viceroy unveiled the Statue of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin, at Cochin, on Sunday, the 8th January 1939, and made the following speech :—

Your Highness, Sir Shanmukham Chetty, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I would like to say how great a pleasure it is to me to be here today, and to have the opportunity during my visit to Cochin of unveiling the statue of His Highness the Maharaja. I am well aware of the close and keen interest which His Highness throughout the period of his rule has taken in the welfare and progress of his subjects, and I know how much his close and kindly interest in all that is of concern to them is appreciated by them. I am glad to think that this statue should provide so evident a demonstration of the affection of the people of the State for their Ruler, and that it should be the outcome of the deliberations of a Committee representing all communities and interests in the State. In it Cochin will have a permanent record of a Ruler distinguished for his scholarly attainments, for his close

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at Trivandrum.

interest in the welfare of his State, and for the austere simplicity of his private life.

I have great pleasure in unveiling the Statue of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
STATE BANQUET AT TRIVANDRUM.

10th January
1939.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the State Banquet at Trivandrum, on Tuesday, the 10th January 1939 :—

Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am most grateful to His Highness the Maharaja for the welcome which he has extended to Lady Linlithgow and myself, a welcome the warmth and the sincerity of which I greatly appreciate. We are both very happy to be in Travancore today, and to visit your ancient and famous State, a State, as you mentioned, the relations of which with His Majesty the King Emperor and his predecessors go back so far into history, a State, too, which has so consistently been distinguished by its feelings of loyalty towards the Paramount Power.

It is now two years since I had last the pleasure of meeting Your Highness, and I only regret that I should have had no opportunity earlier in my term of office of visiting Travancore. But in the five years that have elapsed since, as Your Highness has reminded us, a Viceroy last visited your State, there has been the opportunity of far-reaching developments of every kind. I followed with close attention the account which you have been so kind as to give us of those changes, covering as they do so wide a field, and so many different aspects of administration.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at Trivandrum.

It is now half a century since a Legislative Council was first established in Travancore, and I listened with the greatest interest to the review which Your Highness has given us of the developments in the powers and the field of operation of your Legislative bodies. I note your arrangements to enable the Assembly to exercise effective financial control. I note also the method of preparation of the budget, and of its presentation to both Houses of the Legislature, and the arrangements you have made for the scrutiny of the annual audit and appropriation accounts of the State by a Public Accounts Committee elected by the Legislature itself. I am glad to think that the legislative activity of the two Houses should be as marked as you tell me that it has been, and I welcome the steps which I understand from you they have taken in the field of labour legislation.

In appointing a Public Service Commissioner, Your Highness has taken a step the importance of which the Joint Select Committee and Parliament have both emphasized in the case of British India ; and I note with interest the arrangements you have made for the recruitment of candidates for the various grades in the Civil Service and for the standardisation of the salaries of Government servants. I note, too, the steps taken by Your Highness and your Government to safeguard the position of the backward communities, to widen the basis of recruitment to the Army, and (and to this I attach great importance) to relieve the burden of agricultural indebtedness. I note with much interest that the effect of the Regulation which fixes the relation of landlord and tenant in Travancore is to give the tenant permanency of tenure and fixity of rights. I trust sincerely that the distress prevailing among agriculturists in Travancore, which I hear with great regret has been so acute, may look

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at Trivandrum.

to be alleviated and reduced. The establishment of a Board of Agriculture, the appointment of Marketing Officers, the appreciation which you have shown of the necessity for intensive agricultural research and activity, are all indicative of the close concern with which Your Highness watches the agricultural problem—a problem of such vital importance in India today.

You will not, I know, expect me on an occasion such as the present to touch on the cocoanut situation, but I have listened with interest to the reference which Your Highness has made to it.

I share your hope that the scheme for the development of Hydro-electric power in the State will, as you say, give a stimulus to industry, and I am sure that you are right in the emphasis you lay on the importance of the promotion of cottage industries to the future of Travancore. Travancore has great natural resources, and the well thought out scheme for their development, the outlines of which Your Highness has sketched, tonight, will, I trust, produce results of real and lasting benefit to your State. I was struck in particular by the progressive character of the scheme which you tell me that you have in contemplation of the exploitation, by means of careful planning, of the great forest wealth of your State. I am glad to think that in the process of development you should be alive to the importance of conserving the natural beauties of Travancore, and I heard, too, with the greatest appreciation, of the game sanctuary which you have established on the Periyar Lake.

I well know how high is the educational level in your State. The striking character of the figures of literacy, whether among males or females, which you have just quoted calls for no emphasis from me. The importance of education in the present day world, whether, as you say

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in relation to unemployment or in relation to the solution of agricultural and industrial problems, cannot be over-estimated. The development to which Your Highness can point today is one of which any Ruler might well be proud, and I tender you my warmest congratulations on what you have already achieved.

This is indeed, as Your Highness has remarked, a period of crucial importance in the history of this country as of the world as a whole. And I welcome the assurance which you give me of the readiness of your ancient State to play its due and adequate part in that co-operation between the Indian States and the Paramount Power, the importance of which you have so rightly underlined. I listened with great pleasure to the tribute which you have paid to the work of my Resident. I am glad indeed to think that relations between your State and my Representative should be of so friendly and harmonious a character.

Before I conclude let me thank you most warmly, on behalf of my wife, for the kind references which you have made to her efforts to assist in combating the ravages of tuberculosis. It will be a very great pleasure to her to lay the foundation stone of your new Tuberculosis Hospital and to associate her name with that hospital. I feel no doubt as to the real and permanent value to the State and to its inhabitants of a preventive and curative institution of this character.

Let me, in conclusion, thank you most warmly on behalf of Lady Linlithgow, my family and myself for your most cordial welcome, and let me repeat how glad we are to be here today. Your Highness and your State have my best and sincerest good wishes for the future, and you may be confident of my keen and continued interest in the

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech on the occasion of the presentation of new Colours to the First Battalion, The Wiltshire Regiment, at Bangalore.

fortunes of Travancore, my visit to which has been so very great a pleasure to me.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I give you the toast of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH ON THE
OCCASION OF THE PRESENTATION OF NEW
COLOURS TO THE FIRST BATTALION, THE
WILTSHIRE REGIMENT, AT BANGALORE.

13th January
1939.

On the occasion of the presentation of new Colours to the First Battalion, The Wiltshire Regiment, at Bangalore, on the 13th January 1939, His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech :—

Colonel Segrove, Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Men of the First Battalion, The Wiltshire Regiment,— I consider it a great privilege to be here this morning to present on behalf of His Majesty these new Colours to your Battalion. Your Regiment has a long and proud history and has served with distinction in all parts of the world—in Canada, America, the West Indies ; in Egypt, Sicily and Spain ; in India and Burma ; in the Crimea ; in South Africa ; in the Great War ; and, in more recent times, in Shanghai. It was, however, in India that your Regiment achieved its greatest exploits and it is appropriate that these Colours should be presented to you here in India, though under circumstances so different from those in which your Regiment won its laurels.

This long history of widespread and distinguished service, this history of a high standard maintained by the courage and devotion to duty of all ranks is a challenge to you who are here on parade today. It is a challenge to you to equal this high record, to preserve the great tradition

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Address presented by the Mysore City Municipal Council at Mysore.

of your Regiment. After one of the many battles in which your Regiment has participated, the Commander-in-Chief wrote of the Regiment in despatches as "having done all which the most heroic gallantry and the most determined resolution could have achieved". I am confident that that spirit still lives today, and that you who are here before me can take up that challenge with quiet confidence that the tradition can be maintained and with a determination to do your duty under all circumstances, whether in war or in peace, at home or abroad. Your present duties are peace-time duties which require, just as much as the more spectacular tasks which a Regiment is called upon to perform, the qualities of discipline and dignity. Recently the war clouds gathered but the storm was averted. Let us hope that these clouds have been dispelled for good; but should, contrary to our hopes, the calamity of war break on the world, I do not doubt that your Regiment will maintain its high traditions and add to its already distinguished reputation.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE MYSORE CITY MUNICIPAL COUNCIL AT MYSORE.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech in reply to the Address presented by the Mysore City Municipal Council at Mysore, on the 13th January 1939 :—

13th January
1939.

Gentlemen,—It gives the greatest pleasure to Lady Linlithgow and myself to visit today a City which you rightly describe as one of the most beautiful cities in India. It is the capital City of a Ruler who is revered by every one of his subjects in this great State, and who is respected and admired throughout India and far beyond. You are fortunate indeed in your Ruler, whose character you so admirably describe, who has laboured so well throughout

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Address presented by the Mysore City Municipal Council at Mysore.

his rule for the welfare of his subjects and who has done so much to embellish the natural beauties and extend the amenities of your City. He too is fortunate that he can rely upon men like yourselves to help him realise his ideals and carry out so many schemes for the welfare of his people. All countries must depend greatly upon public-spirited men not in the service of Government who will devote their time and money to the service of the common good. There are many such men in this State and in this City, who by their labours and by their generous benefactions do much for the advancement and welfare of their fellow-men.

Under the shadow of your sacred hill and under the guidance of your Ruler you take especial care for the health and welfare of the poorer citizen. Your Council and your Improvement Trust have worked together for many years to abolish the slums and to build the poor man a house where he can live a healthy and dignified life. In your Welfare Centres you take great care of the health of the City's children ; the fine range of institutions which you maintain for the cure of tuberculosis has been of particular interest to Lady Linlithgow and to me ; and you have recorded in your Address the most valuable experiment which you are now undertaking to ensure a pure milk-supply. You are right when you say that this is a subject in which I am most closely interested. The assurance of a plentiful and pure supply of milk is recognized throughout the world as being of the utmost importance to health. You are tackling on the right lines a problem that is especially difficult in India. I congratulate you on what you have done, and I wish you increasing success in your efforts. There are many cities in India which may well look to Mysore City as an example in the provision of amenities and in work for the improvement of the health and environment of the citizen.

His Excellency The Viceroy's Speech at the State Banquet at Mysore.

Mr. President and Members of the Municipal Council, on behalf of Lady Linlithgow and myself I thank you most heartily for the kind welcome which you have given us today.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
STATE BANQUET AT MYSORE.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the 13th January, 1939.
State Banquet at Mysore, on 13th January 1939 :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—On behalf of my wife and myself, I must first thank Your Highness for the very kind terms in which you have proposed our healths, and for the wonderful welcome which has been given to us today by Your Highness and Your Highness's subjects. I am happy to see Your Highness in excellent health, and to know that there has been a real improvement in your health in the last few years. I much regret that the sudden illness of His Highness the Yuvaraja, who I am glad to think is making such good progress, should have deprived me of the pleasure of meeting him again, and of making the acquaintance of the Yuvaraj Kumar, whom I must congratulate on his recent marriage.

Twelve years ago I paid a brief visit to Bangalore, but this is the first opportunity that we have had since I came to India as Viceroy, of seeing Your Highness's State. I have been here less than one day, but I can already say that the reports of Mysore's beauty are in no way exaggerated and I have already been able to gauge something of the activities of Your Highness's Government in the development of agriculture and industry and the improvement of public health. On my drive round Bangalore I saw the results of intelligent town-planning upon a residential quarter, a modern maternity hospital, and a most worthy

*His Excellency The Viceroy's Speech at the State Banquet at
Mysore.*

memorial in the Technological Institute of Your Highness's Silver Jubilee. Bangalore is already the eighth largest city in India. It is a rapidly growing city, and I can see that it is growing on the right lines.

I am glad to notice however that the fast developing Mysore Industries are being placed in different centres in the State, so that they may be more closely linked with the countryside, and so that the economic benefits derived from them may more directly profit the country man. Today in Mandya I saw how your sugar industry has brought wealth to the agriculturist and I can well believe how proud Your Highness must feel when you pass through a countryside where the earning capacity of the people has been so materially improved.

I have crowded much into this one day, and I must give my special thanks to Your Highness for the exhibition of Rural Health and Welfare that was arranged for me at Closepet. The Health Training Centre, organized in co-operation with the Rockefeller Foundation is a most interesting experiment. It is only by intensive practical work in a limited area that one can learn the most effective means of improving the health and welfare of the Indian villager. This centre should be a most valuable guide to the development of public health work not only in the Mysore State but in many parts of India.

The last part of my journey today was when I drove with Your Highness through the streets of your capital. The City of Mysore is remarkable not only for the beauty of its streets and buildings, but also for the development of institutions for the care of the sick and especially the care of those suffering from the terrible disease of tuberculosis. Your Highness has told us of your great interest in the fight against this disease which we are now waging throughout

His Excellency The Viceroy's Speech at the State Banquet at Mysore.

India, and we know that the Mysore State has devoted special attention to this work. My wife and I are happy to be in a city where so much is done to fight this disease, and she looks forward with great interest to visiting tomorrow the tuberculosis institutions, especially the Sanatorium founded in memory of Your Highness's sister, the finest memorial that any one could desire.

• So much I have seen today, and I regret that time does not permit me to see more of the developments in the State which spring from Your Highness's unremitting labour throughout your long rule. I have however had the opportunity of reading something of the developments in Agriculture, Industry, the Medical and Public Health Services and Hydro-Electric Power Supply. I am particularly interested in the developments in agriculture since I visited the State as Chairman of the Royal Commission and I can see that your Agricultural Department has been able to bring about a real improvement especially in the types of paddy, sugar and cotton grown and in the quality of the Mysore cattle. Your Highness is fortunate in ruling over a State possessed of great natural resources, and wise in your policy of utilising those resources to the full. The progress of electrification in Mysore is remarkable, and when the two new projects at Shimsha and Gersoppa are completed there will be a cheap supply of electricity available throughout the State.

When we leave Mysore we shall take away with us the picture of a City of great natural beauty embellished by Your Highness's care, and of an admirably governed State the great natural resources of which have been developed by Your Highness's devoted labours of over forty years for the prosperity and happiness of your people.

Your Highness has spoken tonight of the recent crisis in Europe, when the world seemed on the brink of war, and

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you have expressed, in the terms of my family motto, your hope for the future. I too share that hope for the future. The peaceful settlement of political differences and the restoration of balance and sanity to the world can be achieved, it may be, only by long and patient work—but that it can be achieved with the good will of all people bent on avoiding war I have no doubt whatever. The part which His Majesty's Government have to play is a great one, and we can contribute much in India by our support. That that support will be forthcoming I am confident : and I wish to express tonight my warm personal appreciation of the offer made recently by Your Highness to place your services and resources at the disposal of the Empire in its hour of trial. I will repeat the words of my predecessor that there is none more constant than Your Highness in devotion and loyalty to the Crown.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to rise and drink the health of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and to wish him many years of happy and prosperous rule.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
STATE BANQUET AT KOLHAPUR.

18th January
1939.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the State Banquet at Kolhapur, on the 18th January 1939 :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank Your Highness very warmly indeed on behalf of Lady Linlithgow and myself not only for the very cordial welcome which you accorded to us on our arrival but also for the most generous terms in which you have been good enough to propose our health tonight.

I have looked forward with keen interest to my visit to Kolhapur, the Premier State of this Agency, whose Ruler

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at Kolhapur.

is the direct descendent of Shivaji the Great, founder of the Mahratta Empire, and I am the more happy to be here today given the cordial relations which have so long existed between Your Highness' State and my Government. It is a source of profound satisfaction to me to give expression in person to the confidence I feel that the future will see no diminution in the intimacy and cordiality of those relations.

The loyal support and the co-operation so readily afforded by His late Highness in the critical years of the Great War have found an echo in the spontaneous and generous gesture made by Your Highness during the recent crisis in placing all the resources of your State at His Majesty's command—a gesture, I can assure Your Highness, most deeply valued and appreciated.

I have listened with close interest to the record of progress made in the State during recent years. That record is one which covers a wide field of achievement ; it would be difficult indeed to suggest any sphere of activity which has escaped Your Highness' notice, and you may well be proud of the progress which Kolhapur has made in so many directions since Your Highness succeeded to the *gadi*. But I might perhaps pay a special tribute to the development of Hydro-electric power ; and to the provision which you contemplate of a pure water supply, and an efficient drainage system—measures of the utmost importance to the health alike of town and village ; while the steps which Your Highness has taken to introduce and encourage improved methods of agriculture cannot but be of great and growing assistance to your subjects.

Your Highness has referred to your speech to the fine tradition of service for their people of the Ruling House of Kolhapur ; and you added that the changing conditions of

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at Kolhapur.

the times carry with them additional obligations. I feel confident that under Your Highness' inspiration and your guidance these obligations will be discharged to the full, and I am confident too that the policy of Your Highness and your Government will continue to be marked by the same wisdom and foresight in this as in other respects.

I have been greatly interested in this connection to hear that a form of Local Self-Government based on a Panchayat System has been in force in Kolhapur since so long ago as 1926 ; and that the Illakha Panchayat should have discharged so successfully the purposes which it was created to serve. I need not say how earnestly I trust that the steps which Your Highness tells me that you now have in contemplation for the establishment of a Legislative Assembly in your State will be attended with no less success.

I would like, too, most warmly to commend Your Highness' decision to create a High Court in your State. Its creation cannot but result in increased confidence in the Judiciary generally, and it emphasises, if that were necessary, Your Highness' anxiety to maintain this most important branch of State Administration at a high level.

I am very glad to hear from Your Highness of the cordial relations prevailing between your Government and your Feudatory Jagirdars : I have every confidence that Your Highness will do all in your power to see that this cordial relationship is maintained.

I can well believe that Your Highness' efforts towards the advancement of the State and the welfare of your people have won, and will continue to preserve, the loyalty and affection of Kolhapur : you may be certain that I shall continue to watch with close and sympathetic interest the developments of Your Highness' policy in these respects.

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Your Highness has touched in your speech on the all-important question of Federation. I am most grateful to you for the kind reference which you made to my recent speech on that subject, and I much appreciate your readiness to consider the final draft of the Instrument of Accession with a desire, in your own words, to render the fullest co-operation in the achievement of the Federal ideal. In the remarks Your Highness has made as regards the importance of achieving the political unity of India, you have, I am sure, the support of all thinking men.

I listened with the utmost pleasure to the generous tribute which Your Highness has paid to the advice and assistance which you have received from the Political Officers with whom you have been associated. I need not assure you that that advice and assistance is at all times at the disposal of Your Highness in the fullest degree ; and it affords me great satisfaction to take note of the intimate and friendly relations which have prevailed, and which I sincerely trust and believe will continue to prevail, between Your Highness and the Political Officers accredited to your State.

I look forward with the greatest pleasure to tomorrow's programme. I am indeed grateful to Your Highness for affording me this opportunity of witnessing Cheeta hunting as it can be seen only in Kolhapur, and of visiting the agricultural fair at Kodoli and your farm. Your Highness' keenness on sport of all kinds, and your interest in racing and horse breeding are well known to me, and I cannot let this occasion pass without referring to the magnificent team of twelve horses behind which I drove from the Station this morning.

Lady Linlithgow asks me to thank Your Highness most warmly for the remarks which you have been kind

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Opening of the Hupri Water Works at Kolhapur.

enough to make about her Appeal on behalf of the King Emperor's Fund. The urgency of the need which the Fund is designed to meet calls for no emphasis by me, but I would like to say with how great a satisfaction I have noticed the generous response which has been made to the Appeal, and how greatly both my wife and I appreciate the generous donation of Kolhapur. The two Sanitaria for affording relief to sufferers from tuberculosis which already exist in your State show clearly that the interest of Your Highness and your Government in this vital problem is no new thing.

Let me in conclusion express on behalf of Lady Linlithgow, my family, and myself our gratitude for Your Highness' hospitality, and for the cordial welcome you have extended to us on the occasion of our visit to your historic State, to which we have so much looked forward, and which has been so very real a pleasure to us

Ladies and Gentlemen, I give you the Toast of His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
OPENING OF THE HUPRI WATER WORKS AT
KOLHAPUR.

19th January 1939. H. E. the Viceroy opened the Hupri Water Works at Kolhapur on Thursday, the 19th January 1939 and made the following speech :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure to me to come here today to perform the Opening Ceremony of these Water Works. You know well enough my interest in rural affairs and may judge how gratifying it is to me see the question of water-supply—a difficulty, unfortunately too frequent throughout India—so adequately met by this installation. But, apart from the

His Excellency's reply to the Millowners' Association, Bombay.

mere pleasure derived from seeing a definite need adequately met, this scheme gives cause for further gratification : it represents to me three most important features in the relations between a Ruler and his subjects. Firstly, it is an indication of Your Highness's interest in the welfare of your subjects ; secondly, it is an indication of a spirit of co-operation between the Ruler and the ruled ; and thirdly, and not the least important of the three, it shows a spirit of self-help on the part of the inhabitants of this place. It is in short what one might have expected to have taken place in a progressive State. I am told that the word ' Hupri ' means a flower garden. I trust that the provision of this water-supply scheme will help to make this place live up to its attractive name and that its inhabitants who are deriving benefit from the scheme may prosper and flourish. I thank Your Highness for inviting me here today and I have much pleasure declaring the Water Works open.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY TO THE MILLOWNERS' ASSOCIATION, BOMBAY.

H. E. the Viceroy received an address from the Millowners' Association, Bombay, on Saturday, the 21st January 1939 and replied as follows :—

21st January
1939.

Gentlemen,—I should like to tell you how glad I am to see you to-day, and how much I value your address. It is a real pleasure to me on the occasion of my first official visit to Bombay to be welcomed in this friendly manner by your Association.

Thank you in the first place for the remarks which you have been so kind as to make about the work I have been privileged in the past to do on behalf of India. You know how real my interest is in the agricultural question,

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and I am delighted to think that an association so representative and so important as yours should recognise in the public manner that you have done in your address to me to-day the closeness and the intimacy of the relation between the fortunes of the industry controlled by your association and the prosperity of the tiller of the soil. It is of real importance that the closeness of the relation between the two should be appreciated, and I am glad to think that it should have been almost the first point which you have mentioned in the remarks which you have been kind enough to address to me to-day. There is no doubt whatever that improvement in agricultural income and agricultural efficiency is very directly related to the betterment of the general standard of living, and that it is very directly related, too, to the provision of the necessary outlet for any marked increase in industrial output.

Do not, however, think that because I take so close and personal an interest in the welfare of the cultivator and in the development and improvement of agriculture and its processes in India, I am for a moment indifferent to the immense importance of industrial development, and of the co-ordination and the planning of social and labour legislation throughout India. I have already in the last few weeks touched on this subject in the remarks I have made elsewhere,—and, keenly anxious as I am to see nothing spared which can conduce to the prosperity and the healthy development of agriculture and the cultivator in this country, I am equally alive to the profound importance of the progress of industrial development and industrial organisation. You, Sir, alluded in your address to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour in India for the establishment of an Industrial Council. I yield to no one in my appreciation of the value of the recommendations of that Commission. Its report is a document of great and permanent value, and the recommenda-

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tions contained in it are based on long and careful observation. I would however say on the point which you have touched, that I am myself inclined to regard the establishment of an Industrial Council on the lines which the Commission suggested rather as a means to an end than as an end in itself ; and to feel some doubt whether conditions to-day are entirely ripe or entirely appropriate for the constitution of a permanent organization of the character contemplated by the Commission.

My own view is that the wise course for us to follow in India in present circumstances is not so much the establishment of a specific framework or organization in the hope that it will result in producing co-ordination, as the provision of opportunities outside and apart from any rigid framework which will foster and encourage the spirit of co-ordination. I feel myself that if we can get those concerned together ; if we can encourage them to pool provincial experience and provincial effort for the formulation of common policies for social and labour legislation ; the creation of machinery should present a relatively simple problem ; and the suggestion I would venture to put before you to-day is this : that we should devote our efforts rather to the fostering of the growth of a spirit of co-ordination than to the immediate development of a specific procedure or specific organization. I am encouraged in this connection to notice the increasing volume of evidence in support of the view, to which my Government subscribes, that labour legislation in India should aim at combining a basic unity with the adaptability necessary to meet the diverse conditions of different localities.

You need not fear, Gentlemen, that I shall fail to continue to take the closest interest in every practical proposal that may be put forward to advance the economic progress of India. I thank you again for your warm welcome to Lady Linlithgow and myself, and I would like to

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Inauguration of the Tenth Industries Conference at Bombay.

take the opportunity to say how very greatly I have enjoyed my first official visit to Bombay and how much I have appreciated the opportunity it has given me of making fresh contacts and of seeing for myself at first hand the many and most important aspects of commercial and industrial development for which Bombay is so renowned.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
INAUGURATION OF THE TENTH INDUSTRIES
CONFERENCE AT BOMBAY.

23rd January
1939.

H. E. the Viceroy opened the Tenth Industries Conference at Bombay on Monday, the 23rd January 1939 and delivered the following speech :—

Gentlemen,—It was with real pleasure that I found myself able to accept the invitation of the Hon'ble Commerce Member to inaugurate this morning the Tenth Industries Conference. It was perhaps inevitable, having regard to my previous connection with India as Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, that hopes should be raised that the period of my Viceroyalty would be specially associated with the attempt to solve some of India's more pressing agricultural problems. I earnestly desire that these hopes should be fulfilled, for there is no doubt in my mind that the happiness and content of this great land must continue to be broad based upon the prosperity and welfare of the cultivating classes. But, human nature being what it is, there may have been misgivings lest my preoccupation with agricultural matters should result in less than a due appreciation of the importance of the development of Indian industries. It was partly in the hope that I might be able to dispel any such misgivings that I welcomed the opportunity to open your proceedings today.

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There is no doubt in my mind that conditions today in the world at large make it more necessary than ever before that India should attain a certain balance in her agricultural and industrial economy. The goal of self-sufficiency which is being pursued by many foreign countries is not one that is in my judgment suitable for India, but the falling off in the demand for India's raw products which is one of its symptoms imposes on us, precisely in the interests of the agricultural classes, the duty of making a fuller use of those raw products ourselves.

I understand that it is now customary to hold these annual Conferences, which formerly were held either at Delhi or Simla, at a different provincial centre each year. I am sure this is a wise departure. It gives the representatives of different provinces and States some opportunity to study on the spot industrial problems other than their own, and it enables them and the representatives of the Central Government to make personal contacts outside the Conference chamber which cannot but be of great value. And I must commend your choice of the actual meeting place in this city, the University Senate Hall, which I hope is symptomatic of the closer co-operation in which it is desirable that Industry and the Universities should work. I am happy, too, to see so many representatives of the Indian States taking part in your Conference. It is a recognition of the close interaction, in the industrial as in many other spheres of public activity, of the problems and interests of British India and of the Indian States. The solution of common problems cannot but be facilitated by increased opportunities for formal consultation and co-operative effort.

The Industries Conference is now an annual institution, but I notice that although this is the Tenth Industries

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Conference, it is over eighteen years ago since the first of the series was held at Simla, in April 1926. In view of the somewhat different scope and composition of that Conference from the Conference which we are inaugurating today, it is perhaps desirable to indicate briefly the circumstances which have brought about the change. Twenty years ago, the Indian Industrial Commission, appointed during, and to a great extent owing to, the stress of the Great War, had just issued its Report. Its ambitious proposals for a great advance in industrialisation depended on the acceptance of two principles. The first was that Government ought to take an active part in the industrial development of the country with the aim of making India more self-contained in men and material. The second was that it was impossible for Government to undertake that part unless they were provided with adequate administrative equipment and forearmed with reliable and technical advice. It was to the Central Government that the Commission assigned the main responsibility for further industrial advance, and to this end one of their main recommendations was the formation of an All-India Industrial Service of specialists and technical experts, who would largely have been seconded for service under provincial Directors of Industries, by whom, under the general control of local Governments, the actual administrative work would have been carried on.

But about the time when the Indian Industrial Commission made its Report, far-reaching constitutional changes were under contemplation, changes which had not been envisaged by the Commission, and which were to render substantial parts of their scheme impracticable. By the time the First Industries Conference met in 1920, it was already known that "Industries" was to be a provincial transferred subject, to be controlled and administered by

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Tenth Industries Conference at Bombay.*

ministers. The Conference, therefore, although it consisted entirely of officials, concerned itself mainly with the details of the organisation of the growing provincial departments of industries, and little was done in the way of co-ordination of effort. At the Conference held in April 1921, the new provincial Ministers for Industries were present for the first time. At this and at the next following Conference, there manifested itself a certain apprehension lest co-ordination and attempts at unified effort might mean interference : and though it was primarily as a measure of retrenchment that these Conferences were abandoned in 1923, there is I think no doubt that a contributory cause was what I may for want of a better word refer to as the separatist tendency of individual provinces, who for the most part had ceased to attach any great importance to co-ordination in this field.

Fortunately this tendency, the strength of which I have no desire to exaggerate, did not last long and certainly does not persist today. For it was at the request of the Provincial Governments themselves that these annual Conferences were revived in 1933. Indeed, what I notice now-a-days is something very different from any apprehension that the Central Government may encroach upon the legitimate sphere of provincial activities. It is rather a certain exasperation at the inability of the Central Government to exercise in certain directions powers which were long ago taken away from the Central Government and handed over to provincial ministers. This seems to me to be a perfectly natural outcome of the growing realisation that a real co-ordination of industrial effort between the provinces is essential if India as a whole is to advance or even to maintain the position that in certain industries she has already won. From time to time fissiparous tendencies show themselves, and though we can hardly hope

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to see complete identity of views established through the machinery of these conferences, it is none the less along the lines of such free and frank discussions of common problems as is here possible that a solution is to be sought.

What part, however, is there still left for the Central Government to play in the future industrial development of the country? An examination of what has already been done will perhaps shed some light on this. I have already indicated the circumstances in which it was not possible that the Central Government should put in operation the scheme drawn up by the Indian Industrial Commission. Looking back on that scheme, the part I am most inclined to regret was the abandonment of the scheme for an All-India Industrial Service. If that recommendation could have been given effect to, there would have been in existence today a central pool of Industrial experts on which the provinces could have drawn to man their departments, and I feel sure that the existence of such a body of trained men would have been felt today by many provincial ministers to constitute a very material reserve of highly qualified expert advice of which they could if they so wished avail themselves. Nevertheless the Central Government has been enabled to play a rôle, different indeed from that envisaged by the Commission, but one which has exercised a notable influence on the development of Indian industries. By their control of Tariffs, and in pursuance of the policy of discriminating protection which was accepted as the result of the recommendations of the Indian Fiscal Commission, many great industries—steel, cotton textiles, paper, sugar—have been built up. By their Stores Purchase policy, under which a definite preference is shown by Government, in their purchases undertaken to meet the needs of the public services, to articles of indigenous manufacture, Government have done much to

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assist many large and small Indian industries. The extent of these purchases is not perhaps as widely realised as it should be. During the ten years from 1928-29 to 1937-38 articles wholly or partially manufactured in India were purchased for Government to the extent of twenty-three crores of rupees. The Indian Stores Department exercises constant vigilance to prevent the purchase from abroad of articles which can equally well be obtained in India, and has succeeded in diverting to indigenous sources of supply many demands which can be met from Indian markets, but which might otherwise have been filled from elsewhere.

Again, the action taken on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture has demonstrated in a striking way the advantages to the provinces of the co-ordination of research and guidance undertaken by the Central Government, and this example has been followed, though not perhaps to the full extent that some of you may have desired, in the industrial field. The co-ordination of provincial efforts which is effected by your Conference has been emphasised by the establishment of the Industrial Research Bureau, the Industrial Research Council and the Imperial Sericulture Committee, and by the grants given to the Handloom, Woollen and Sericulture Industries. Last year Government took the decision to place the Industrial Research Bureau on a permanent footing. Owing to the deterioration of the general financial position during the current year, my Government have felt compelled to re-examine that decision, but I am glad to be able to announce that it has been decided to maintain it. Similarly, I am glad to say that it has been provisionally decided to continue for another financial year (1939-40) the handloom grant which was due under the original scheme to expire next October.

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In the legislative field, measures recently passed by the Central Legislature, such as the Companies Act and the Insurance Act, cannot but have a far-reaching effect of a beneficial nature on industrial development. And there are other measures on the anvil such as the Patents Bill, which proposes to penalise the pirating of designs ; a Bill to facilitate the registration of Trade Marks in India ; the revision of the Law of Merchandise Marks ; and a Bill which will enable the Central Government to prescribe a uniform standard of weights. All these legislative activities will help to create an environment in which industry can flourish.

I have perhaps said enough to indicate that the Central Government has, within the limits of the constitution, played its due part in the development of Indian industries. It will not have escaped your notice that when the scheme of government contemplated by the Government of India Act has been brought into full operation, the responsibility for the development of those industries where development under federal control is expedient in the public interest will remain with the federal government. Quite apart from this, however, there is a large and fruitful field for co-operation and discussion in industrial matters between provinces and States *inter se*, and between them and the Central Government.

I have studied your agenda with much interest. I am glad to see the important place occupied in it by the development of small and cottage industries. To my mind the supplementing not only of the earnings, but of the healthy human interests, of the rural population is more bound up with the development of small subsidiary industries than with that of large scale industries. I notice that the Hon'ble Minister for Industries in Madras, whom

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the Indian Merchants' Chamber at Bombay.*

I had hoped to have seen here today, laid stress on this point in a recent speech, and that he estimated that big industries could not feed more than ten million people in India. I am also glad to see that you propose to consider how the services of Indian Trade Commissioners abroad can best be utilised to diffuse the kind of information you require. There has, as you know, been a great expansion of this service during the last five years, and it is the desire of my Government that their services should be enlisted to the fullest possible extent in the expansion of Indian industry and trade.

It is no doubt possible that the discussion of certain items of your agenda may disclose marked divergences in the view-point of different provinces. But it is essential to the success of the free and democratic institutions which we are building up in India that there should be frank and cordial exchange of opinions with a view to reaching agreed solutions, and I do not know that there is any field in which this is more important than that of Industry. At a time when such free discussion of difficulties has drawn us back from the brink of a world war, but when the menace to freedom and democracy has by no means disappeared, it is on this note that I leave you to your deliberations.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE
ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE INDIAN MER-
CHANTS' CHAMBER AT BOMBAY.

H. E. the Viceroy received an Address from the Indian Merchants' Chamber at Bombay on Monday, the 23rd January 1939 and replied as follows :—

23rd January
1939.

Gentlemen.—I am glad to see you here today, and I thank you on behalf of Lady Linlithgow and myself for the welcome you have given us to Bombay.

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Address presented by the Indian Merchants' Chamber at Bombay.

I listened to your address with the interest and the attention which it deserves. You mentioned in your opening remarks that you were anxious to put me frankly in possession of your views on some of the live commercial and industrial problems of the day ; and you expressed the hope that I would seek such solution of the problems on which you touched as would conduce to the best interests of India in general, and of those concerned in industries in particular.

You are in my judgment right in suggesting that the criterion to be applied in considering the answer to the many difficult and controversial problems which you have raised should be the best interests of the country in general. I could wish that, on the question of what line of action was likely to be most conducive to the achievement of that end, our views more nearly approximated. But you have given me an opportunity, in your very full, and, I may say, very outspoken, address to deal in some little detail with a number of issues of very great importance, not only to India generally, but to those commercial and industrial interests for which you speak. I will endeavour in the short time that is available to us this morning to deal with such particularity as is practicable, with the position in regard to those issues, and to reciprocate the frankness with which you have set your view of the case before me—a frankness which I in no way misunderstand.

You have placed in the forefront of your remarks the question of the Rupee Ratio ; and I think that it would be appropriate that I should touch on this most important question in the first place. You will, I am sure, not misunderstand me if I at once make plain that I find myself quite unable to accept your observations upon the history of this matter as an objective statement of the facts of this complicated question. While I may tell you that my own

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view, formed after close study of the question, is as definite as that conveyed in your address, it does not appear to me that any analysis of past history is likely today to assist us in appraising the practical issues with which we are faced. Let us then agree to differ as to the past history, while we proceed to concentrate rather on the practical aspects, which must appeal to you, as business men, and on the merits of the position. The vital importance of the exchange issue makes it in no way surprising that for many years past its prominence should have been so great. It is an issue, as you, Gentlemen, with your great experience, realise as fully as I do, extremely technical in character. It is not an issue that can be considered in isolation, or in terms of a single country only. The history of the 20 years that have elapsed since the end of the Great War make clear beyond any possibility of doubt the international ramifications of the currency question ; and emphasize the essential necessity of taking no step in regard to it save after the fullest consideration, and the fullest weighing, from every point of view, of the repercussions of action in a particular sense. The history of world currency over this period has very clearly shown the uncharted reefs that confront those who endeavour to sail in these dangerous and difficult waters. That is a factor that has continually been present to me and to my Government in shaping our policy ; for we carry a very great responsibility to the people of India—a responsibility that we are bound to discharge without fear or affection, without consideration of the temporary reaction on any one interest or group of the adoption of a particular course, and with the object solely of ensuring on a long view the true and best interest of the Indian tax-payer and the Indian cultivator.

Those being the considerations that have weighed with us in the past, and that weigh with us today, in the

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formulation and the conduct of our currency policy, I can assure you that in the decisions my Government have taken, and in the policy that we are maintaining, we have failed to take into account no material factor. Nor in reaching our conclusions have we done so without the most careful weighing of every relevant consideration, whether in India or outside India. Those conclusions, which we have again publicly stated in the last few days, are based on the widest experience and the best advice that could be obtained ; and, speaking myself with a strong sense of the responsibility which rests upon me personally and upon my Government, I have no hesitation in saying that the policy to which we are working is the only one which could, on the picture as we see it, properly have been adopted by us, having regard to the necessity for giving full weight to the interests of all classes and sections in this country, and for planning on a long term basis. And I would be unfair to you, Gentlemen, if I did not, with the same frankness which you yourselves have adopted in your Address today, tell you that my Government have, as they recently made clear, no intention of allowing the lowering of the present exchange value of the Rupee ; that they intend to defend it by every means in their power ; and that they are confident (a fact the significance of which will, of course, be present to you as representatives of great commercial interests) of their entire ability to maintain it.

I know that misunderstandings exist as to the effect of our present exchange policy. In a communiqué recently issued, which expressed the views of the Government of India, an endeavour was made to deal with certain of these misunderstandings. I will not trespass on your patience by reiterating all the points which the recent statement of my Government was designed to underline. There is, however, one point which is of particular and close interest to

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me personally—the effect of the present ratio on the agriculturist. I am satisfied that there is no foundation for the suggestion that the maintenance of the ratio has been disadvantageous to the agriculturist. I am satisfied, indeed, that to lower the ratio in the market conditions, internationally, of the present day, would result in no rise that matters in what the cultivator can realise for his produce; that it would immediately and sharply increase the cost of what he buys; and that its effect on the budgetary position of the Centre and of the provinces could not but be of a character which would injuriously affect the taxpayer, whether urban or agricultural. In face of considerations of this nature—considerations, I repeat, our conclusions in regard to which have been reached only after the most careful and prolonged examination—you will not I know be surprised that our policy is the policy which I have described to you. But I trust sincerely that, having heard my exposition of the care with which we have examined the whole position before reaching our conclusion, and the pains at which we have been to give weight to every conceivable factor, you will believe that that decision has not been lightly taken, or taken on any basis other than that of the true interest of the taxpayer, of the cultivator, and of the industrial and commercial interests of India.

I have listened with interest to your suggestion that the time has come for Government to abandon the policy of discriminating protection in favour, in your own words, of a policy of full-fledged protection. The fiscal policy of Government in respect of India's industries is, as you are well aware, based on the principles laid down in the Resolution adopted by the Indian Legislative Assembly on the 16th February 1923. This policy has been in operation for well over a decade, and the experience gained of its working during that period appears to me to confirm the soundness

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the Indian Merchants' Chamber at Bombay.*

of the principles on which it is founded. I am aware that divergent views exist as to the effect of that policy on the pace and extent of industrial development. But the results of the policy in its application to particular industries, the Iron and Steel, the Cotton Textile, and the Sugar industries, to name only a few, have been sufficiently impressive to justify the conclusion that further progress should be sought along lines so well tested in the past rather than in a fundamental departure from the principles which have hitherto guided Government's fiscal policy. You will, I am sure, agree with me that it is of supreme importance in a predominantly agricultural country such as India to ensure that no undue burden shall be imposed on the community as a whole as a result of a policy of protection. Avoidance of such undue burden on the general mass of consumers is of the essence of the policy of discriminating protection, and any deviation from this principle could not fail to have a most injurious reaction upon the condition of the agricultural classes, the protection of whose interests is, I am sure, both on general grounds and because of the direct and immediate reaction of the prosperity or poverty of those classes on trade and industry, a matter of as deep concern to your Chamber as it is to Government.

That, Gentlemen, is the position in its most general terms. You will share my view that a great deal has been done in the way of protection ; and I have urged that we should be wise to continue to follow the path which has hitherto given us good results rather than to embark on new and more hazardous experiments. I think it is fair, too, in considering this issue of protection, the importance of which I fully recognise, to bear in mind that one effect of its adoption has been to turn a highly elastic revenue system into an inelastic one in which the law of diminishing returns is already strongly in operation. A consideration

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of a quite different character, and one that is, I know, preent to you is the probability, indeed the certainty, if the demand for high protective tariffs were conceded, that foreigners would take advantage of those tariffs by establishing factories here ; and that cannot be regarded from the point of view of those who are most anxious for an increased degree of protection as a factor to be treated lightly. Speaking, however, to an audience of your great experience in the commercial world, I think that I might not inappropriately before I pass from this subject remind you (though I am sure that that consideration is one to which you are alive) of the heavy burden on the consumer, with no corresponding increase of revenue to the Exchequer, involved in a high protective duty. I do not indeed think that I should be very far off the mark if I were to estimate the real burden of the customs tariff as about double the amount of revenue it yields ; or, to put it in a different form, to suggest that the burden of that part of the tariff which is in fact protective is, as I speak to you today, of the order of 40 crores a year. I would ask you to bear in mind the magnitude of this sum in relation to the burden which the taxpayer shoulders for the defence of the country.

This brings me to the question of Military expenditure, a question, I imagine, throughout the world today of profound concern to every taxpayer and to every Chancellor of the Exchequer. I agree with you in regarding the 45 crores spent annually on Defence by India as a heavy burden. And yet I am able today to point to the fact that India is the only large country in the world in which Defence expenditure during the last fifteen years not only has not been increased, but has undergone a decisive reduction. I might perhaps remind you that in 1922 Defence estimates were 65½ crores. Last year they were

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between 45 and 46 crores. Defence expenditure has indeed been progressively reduced, and that despite the altered position of the international situation, to a point at which, as you recognize yourself in the remarks you have just addressed to me, a further reduction cannot safely be made.

I wholly agree with what you say as to the desirability and the importance of the training of Indians for the defence of their country ; and no inconsiderable part of the Army is now under the process of Indianization. I would like, however, to take this opportunity to draw attention to the fact that some difficulty is being experienced in finding suitable candidates for the number of vacancies offered. Indeed, the numbers presenting themselves at the half-yearly examination are comparatively small and have been steadily declining. In the case of the Indian Navy equally, there has been a shortage of qualified candidates for Commissions. The question of how to secure a better flow of candidates for the Defence Services is under active consideration, but I fear that today there can be no question that supply is hardly equal to demand—a consideration of very direct relevance to the general principle of Indianization. Finally, it is to be remembered that the Military field is one in which long training and experience are necessary, and in which the policy we are pursuing can come to full fruition only over a period of years. It would, in my judgment, be false economy to take the risks involved in sacrificing soundness and dependability to haste.

I should like to assure you of my full sympathy with the hopes you have expressed for the continued growth and progress of the Indian mercantile marine. I need not recall to you the measures taken by my Government in different spheres of action in pursuance of their declared

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policy of assisting in the participation of Indian-owned shipping in India's trade, and of organizing facilities for the training of Indians for a sea career. It has been their constant endeavour, by the method of peaceful discussion and negotiation, to promote the full co-operation of all the interests concerned in the solution of their differences, and largely through their efforts important advantages have been secured in the past for Indian shipping concerns. You may rest assured that they will continue to use their good offices and their influence in furtherance of an object the importance of which they so fully realise.

You mentioned, Sir, in the course of your remarks, that in the judgment of your Chamber those sections of the Government of India Act which aim at the prevention of commercial discrimination placed India at a very material disadvantage; and from comment in the Press and on the public platform I realise that this is an issue which attracts wide attention in many quarters. But you are familiar with the long course of argument and discussion at the Round Table Conferences, before the Joint Select Committee, and in Parliament, which preceded the incorporation of these sections in the Act, and it would be disingenuous of me to hold out any hope that the question will be held under early review.

You have expressed your concern at the delay in the conclusion of the negotiations for a new Trade Agreement with the United Kingdom. I share your regret that the range and complexity of the matters at issue and the importance of the interests affected, should have had the effect of prolonging the negotiations. But you will have seen the decision of my Government that, whatever the course or outcome of the negotiations, the Ottawa Agreement will not be continued beyond the end of the next

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Budget Session. You will have seen also the announcement recently made in the Legislative Assembly that any agreement reached will be placed before the Legislature for its opinion before effect is given to it. I have taken careful note of the other suggestions which you have made in regard to matters of procedure connected with the conclusion of trade agreements, and I can at once assure you that they will receive consideration at the appropriate time. On one point to which you have alluded—the desirability of such agreements being signed on behalf of the Government of India by their own representatives—I might explain that the position which you have indicated as desirable is that which already obtains in the case of agreements with other Empire countries. Where however the agreement is with a foreign country the constitutional position of India requires that it should be formally signed by representatives of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

You alluded, Sir, to the effect on the cotton grower, and on the cotton trade generally, of the slump in cotton prices, and you suggested as one step which might be taken to meet the situation a substantial reduction in the railway freight rates for this commodity. I am aware of the difficulty which faces the cotton grower, and I need not assure you of my deep sympathy with him. I am also aware of the difference between the pre-war rates and those now in force, the increase in rates having been made at a time when the cost of operation on railways had substantially increased. Improvements in the conditions of service, particularly in the case of the lower paid employees, have contributed largely to these operating costs; and legislation within recent years affecting labour and designed to secure still further improvements tends to augment the working expenses of Railways, despite every effort for rigid

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economy. I cannot agree, I fear, that Railways do not recognize their obligation to assist in the development of the trade of this country. The tariffs of practically all the principal Railways are replete with rate quotations indicating the substantial reductions in the normal freight rates that have been made by individual Railways to assist in the development of trade and industry. The reluctance of Railway Administrations to reduce the freight rates for cotton is not due to any disregard for commercial interests. It is due, as I understand it, entirely to the practical consideration that any feasible reduction in these rates would, on the one hand, not result in any increase in traffic, while it would, on the other, almost certainly involve Railways in a loss of revenue approximating to Rs. 1½ crores. I am sure you will recognise that, in these circumstances, the Railways' primary obligation for their financial stability rules out of consideration the substantial reduction which you suggest.

I have made in connection with the Indianization of the Army the point that it takes time to work up from a very low percentage to a high percentage. The same considerations apply in respect of the Indianization of the Civil Services. With the best will in the world, progress must be gradual, though progress has been very considerable indeed. I will not weary you, towards the end of a long speech, with details. I will only say, to take the Central Services, to the position in regard to which you draw my special attention, that the number of Europeans recruited to Class I of those Central Services to which recruitment is made by the Governor-General in Council, during 1935, 1936 and 1937, is 20, 7 and 6 respectively. The number of Indians recruited for the corresponding period is 69, 44 and 56. The number of Indian officers appointed to the secretariat is bound to increase as time

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passes and as Indians with the requisite qualifications and of the requisite seniority become available ; and while my Government are doing all that they can in this connection, the process is one that must inevitably take time.

Gentlemen, I have, I fear, kept you for a long time this morning. But the importance of your address, which I have been so glad to receive, and the necessity of dissipating misconceptions and of making the position clear on the major issues on which you have touched in your address are my excuse. I have not hesitated to deal with the various points that you have mentioned to me in greater detail than I should otherwise have done, because I feel confident that a close examination of them would be welcome to you, and because, even though there are many points on which I have with regret found myself unable to accept your views, I am anxious that you should not be left with any feeling that I have not given them the most careful personal consideration, or that I have not done my best in the short time available to me to set out the position as I see it in regard to the matters to which you have drawn my attention. Let me in conclusion thank you again for the cordial welcome you have given me today, and for your good wishes which I greatly value.

SPEECH BY H. E. THE VICEROY AT THE ORIENT CLUB,
BOMBAY.

23rd January
1939.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech on the occasion of the Luncheon given by the Orient Club, Bombay, on Monday, the 23rd January 1939 :—

Your Excellency, Gentlemen,—I am very grateful to you Mr. Chairman and to you, Gentlemen, for your kind welcome to me today, and for the honour you have done me in inviting me to luncheon. It is a great pleasure to me, I assure you, to be in Bombay again, and to have this

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opportunity of meeting you all. I only wish that I had more time at my disposal, or that the pressure of events was less great, and gave me more time to meet my friends. But when I tell you that I have this morning addressed the opening meeting of the Industries Conference, visited some educational institutions and replied to a Deputation from the Indian Merchants' Chamber ; and when I tell you, too, that this afternoon I visit the Physical Training Institute, and the Bombay Gowrakshak Mandali—at which I have the best of reasons to think that I shall be expected to make a speech—you will, I am sure, agree with me that the day is a full one.

I do not propose to inflict a long speech on you today. I had rather talk quite informally about one or two features in the situation. I think the first topic that comes into one's mind when one finds oneself in the Capital of this great Presidency, is the working of provincial autonomy. No one can fail to be struck by the degree of success that it has achieved—a degree of success all the more significant in the case of a historic Presidency, a great port, a great city, such as yours. It is no small tribute to all concerned that after the two years, or almost two years, that have passed since Part III of the Act of 1935 came into operation, things should have gone so well, and that the outlook for the future should, all things considered, hold out so much promise. I may, I think, properly take the opportunity to pay a tribute to the work of the Government of Bombay. And I should like to pay a tribute, too, to your Governor, who is so admirably equipped by his long Parliamentary record, and his experience in so many different departments of State at home, for the most important and responsible office which he has held with such distinction and success.

Provincial autonomy, as I have often reminded my hearers, is, however, one part only of the scheme of con-
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stitutional reform. I would like to repeat how urgent I regard the federal problem from the point of view of India, and how concerned I am to secure without any delay the bringing into being of the federal scheme. I would like, too, again to emphasize the importance as I see it of the early introduction of that scheme to all sections and all interests in this country, and its value to India as a whole. It is, if you like, an intricate scheme, and one that may give rise to misunderstandings here and to misunderstandings there ; to doubts as to whether it is the best solution of an unparalleled problem ; to countersuggestions and counter-proposals. That, surely, is inevitable, given the magnitude and the complexity of the issues involved. I will only repeat today that I have myself no doubt whatever that the scheme is a good scheme, a workable scheme, a scheme in the best interests of India, and a scheme that merits an objective approach and a fair trial by all concerned and I would emphasise again the great importance to India, at the present stage of international affairs, of early Federation. You, Gentlemen, appreciate to the full the significance of the relation of totalitarian development elsewhere—a significance which the Press in this country has not failed to understand, and I do not think that I need today do more than touch upon it.

Let me return, Gentlemen, from that disturbing but most important subject to conditions in the constitutional field here. There is only one thing which I would like, if I might, to add today when we consider the working of the constitutional scheme ; and that is the importance of keeping the time factor in proper perspective. We may be impatient at how little has been done ; or restless at the way in which things are being done ; or we may think that too much is being done, or at too great a pace. I have heard all of those criticisms in one part of India or another, and from persons of very different parties. I

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would ask you, however to remember that, after all, an immense constitutional change has taken place, affecting in all the working of their lives the 250 millions of people who live in the provinces of British India—and that, after all allowances, that change has been made with surprising smoothness, and in a very short space of time. Could we have foreseen in April two years ago how well the constitutional scheme, operating for the first time over so wide and so varied a field, under conditions differing so markedly in different areas, would have stood its first strain, we should, I think, indeed have been well content; and I suggest that in judging the position today, we should, to the extent that, for any reason, we may feel critical, apply the test of the long view.

Let me, before I close, say again how great a pleasure it is to me to pay my first official visit to this great city. It is not by a very long way my first visit to Bombay, either to Bombay City or to Bombay Presidency. When I was Chairman of the Agricultural Commission, I chose Mahableshwar as the spot at which my Commission could best write its report, and my visits to Bombay itself have, on one occasion or another, been too numerous for me to count. I only regret that I should not have had an opportunity of visiting you earlier in my Viceroyalty; but if I have had to delay until now, it is from no lack of appreciation of the immense importance of Bombay; of its great commercial and industrial significance; its eminence as a port and a great centre of shipping; and of the importance of the problems which confront those who are responsible for the administration whether of the City or the Presidency. I wish that I could, on this occasion, have been able to spend longer in Bombay and see in greater detail the great public institutions of this city, and to increase the number of my personal contacts. But you well know, Gentlemen, the conditions under which a Viceroy lives, and how rarely he is

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Bombay Gowrakshak Mandali.

able to please himself in matters such as these ; and you may, be quite sure that if I am not able to spend longer in your great city it is not from any lack of will to do so. I thank you again most warmly for the welcome you have given me today.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
BOMBAY GOWRAKSHAK MANDALI.

His Excellency the Viceroy visited the Bombay Gowrakshak Mandali on Monday, the 23rd January 1939 and delivered the following speech :—

Your Excellency and Gentlemen,—I thank you for your kindness in inviting me here this afternoon and for giving me the opportunity during my visit to Bombay to come and see for myself the activities of the Bombay Gowrakshak Mandali.

You will not I know on an informal occasion like this expect a long address from me, especially as I have made three speeches already today. You know my views on the importance to India of improving stock, especially that of milch cattle with its consequent increase in the yield and the quantity of milk. You will not therefore expect from me a dissertation on this subject nor am I prepared to follow some of the tempting lines of discussion which you, Sir Purshotamdas, presented to me in your address this afternoon. Let me say however that I have been most interested by all that I have seen this afternoon and also that I heartily endorse the aim of this Mandali to divert the strong sentimental sympathy for cattle preservation into useful and constructive channels. I note, too, with satisfaction that when I appealed for more efforts at improving the breeding of cattle this Mandali was the first to have the necessary bulls to give to people for cattle breeding. In

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this connection let me congratulate the Mandali on the improvement which its figures show in the milk yield of its herd and the general improvement in its cattle. This is a matter for considerable satisfaction. I am gratified to hear the acknowledgment of the guidance and assistance which you have received from the Government of Bombay and particularly from its experts. I trust that this close co-operation will continue as it can produce nothing but beneficent results. In conclusion let me thank you for your kind words regarding my own interest in the cattle problem in India ; let me congratulate all those who have won prizes and medals this afternoon—rewards won for work such as this are, let me assure you, well worth winning ;—and finally let me wish the Mandali a long life of useful activity.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH IN REPLY
TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE BOMBAY
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

His Excellency the Viceroy received an address from the 25th January
Bombay Chamber of Commerce on Wednesday, the 25th January 1939.
1939 and replied as follows :—

Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure to me to receive the address which you have been kind enough to present to me. I well remember the friendly welcome which you extended to me on the day I landed in India to assume my present office. That address and the good wishes which it contained were a great encouragement to me, and it is all the greater pleasure to me to meet you again today.

Let me first of all say how glad I am to be paying this my first official visit to Bombay. I fully recognise the great importance of Bombay as a port and as the centre of so many major industrial and commercial undertakings.

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presented by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.*

I may not have been able to visit Bombay as early as I could have wished. But, Gentlemen, I think you know that I have spared no opportunity of establishing personal contact with the representatives of those most important interests which have Bombay as their centre, and that I have always endeavoured to maintain as close a contact as possible with happenings and developments in this great city and this historic presidency.

I thank you most warmly for your reference to the introduction of the Federation of India as the next stage in the realisation of that constitutional scheme of which the first and most significant step has been the introduction of Provincial Autonomy ; and it is a source of keen satisfaction to me to know that your Chamber, with its long history, and representing as it does commercial and industrial bodies of the utmost importance, should share the view, to which I myself wholly subscribe, that, from the point of view of commerce, Federation is the logical outcome of any scheme of self-government, and that, unless Federation is achieved, the progress of India will be unduly fettered, and commerce and industry alike must suffer. If I may venture to say so, you are wholly justified in the view you have expressed as to the necessity of regarding the problems of commerce and industry, problems the significance and importance of which in the modern world grows every day, with an all-India outlook.

I agree with you as to the urgency of Federation. It is of immediate importance in my judgment to achieve its realisation, and I am sure that its realisation can be achieved consistently with the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of the various component parts of that Federation. You have mentioned the position of the Maritime States, and you have touched on problems in that connection of special interest to Bombay and to your

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Chamber. I am well aware—indeed no one who had the privilege of being associated with the deliberations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee or with the formulation of their report could fail to realise it—that there are certain practical difficulties and complications which cannot be overlooked. But I am at one with you in your view that Federation provides the only satisfactory solution, and that the sooner that can be introduced, the better it will be for the welfare of all concerned. I am determined to do all that lies in my power to bring about its achievement with the minimum of delay, and I am glad indeed to know that in that objective I can rely upon the support of your Chamber.

I have listened with much satisfaction to the tribute you have paid to the legislative programme of the Government of Bombay ; and, if I may venture without impropriety to express an opinion on these matters, I should like to subscribe to your view both as to the beneficial nature of many of the measures which the government of this Province have introduced, and as to the sense of balance and responsibility that has been displayed. I am glad indeed to think that the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, with its great experience and long association with matters of commercial and industrial importance in this Presidency should pay the tribute that they have to the working of Provincial Autonomy. Nor do I feel that any statesman in these days (or indeed at any time) will for a moment misunderstand the significance of those occasions on which there are honest differences of opinion and on which the parties concerned find themselves unable to see eye to eye on questions of importance and significance to the province concerned.

I welcome your reference to the close relation of agricultural prosperity to economic and industrial develop-

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ment and health ; and I need not tell you how heartily I agree with you as to the extreme importance attaching to successful rural economy. I am much gratified by the appreciation you have expressed of the value of the activities of the Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank in regard to giving advice to Provincial Co-operative Banks and Provincial Governments in relation to the finance of agricultural schemes.

I am in entire sympathy with your desire that there should be in the India of the future the largest possible unit of internal free trade. The development of industries in Indian States is a natural extension of the progress which has been made in British India along the lines of discriminating protection, and it is a matter of importance that there should be co-ordination of the industrial and commercial efforts and policies of India's political units, whether they be provinces or States, paying due regard to the measure of independence which each enjoys. You have referred particularly to the importance of federation to India's internal economy. But it has another aspect hardly less important. If India is to carry her full weight in the commercial councils of the world, it is essential that she should be able to speak with one voice.

I am glad that you have expressed your appreciation of the steady progress that has been made in recent years with the consolidation of the commercial law of India. I consider that the large measure of general agreement which has been reached during the progress to the statute book of these very controversial measures is one of the best auguries for the future commercial peace and prosperity of this country. The Companies Act, the Insurance Act, the Income-tax (Amendment) Bill and the Motor Vehicles Bill are all of importance in creating conditions on which trade can develop on healthy lines. You have referred to

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in reply to the address presented by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

the long discussions which have taken place on the subject of trade mark legislation, but you are aware that the course of those discussions has been marked by fundamental changes in the attitude of commercial opinion in India ; and I have no doubt that, as a result, the legislation which we hope to bring forward shortly will be of a less controversial kind than at one time seemed possible. My Government hope at about the same time to introduce a comprehensive measure on the subject of Merchandise Marks, and there is already before the Legislature a Bill for bringing up to date the law regarding Patents.

You have referred to the incidence of customs taxation, particularly with regard to the basis on which *ad valorem* duties are assessed, and you have suggested legislation for the purpose of avoiding the taxation of such post-importation charges as may be included in the wholesale price of imported goods. I am fully conscious of the considerations which you have mentioned and of the need for a basis of assessment equitable to all. This subject is indeed one which is constantly engaging the attention of the revenue authorities concerned, and as recently as 1936 the Central Board of Revenue, in modification of previous practice, issued an Instruction the object of which is, consistently with the statutory definition, to relate the " wholesale price " on which the assessment is based as nearly as possible to the landed cost. The subject is however one of great complexity for which it is difficult to devise an improved statutory formula but which requires careful and vigilant administration.

I should like to take this opportunity gratefully to thank you on behalf of Lady Linlithgow and myself for your welcome to her and for what you have said about her appeal on behalf of the King-Emperor's anti-Tuberculosis Fund. I do not think I need say a word to emphasize the

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His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to an address from the Committee of the European Association, Bombay.

extreme desirability of preventive and curative measures to deal with the scourge of tuberculosis." Bombay has made a generous response indeed to the Appeal on behalf of the King-Emperor's Fund, and it is her and my earnest trust that the very substantial sum of money which has been collected by the generosity of this Presidency and of this great capital city will produce results of real and permanent value for the alleviation of the suffering and distress which follow in the train of tuberculosis.

Gentlemen, I thank you again most warmly for the privilege you have given me of seeing you today and for your welcome to me. My own connection with business has been too close for me for a moment to under-rate the vital necessity of close co-operation between commerce and industry, and the government and administration of a country. I cannot too strongly stress the value I attach to your good wishes and support, and the deep and genuine pleasure with which I have heard of the smoothness and cordiality of the relations which exist between this long established and important Chamber, and the Government of Bombay.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO AN ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION, BOMBAY.

26th January
1939,

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address presented by the European Association, Bombay, at a Luncheon on Thursday, the 26th January 1939 :—

It was the greatest pleasure to me, Gentlemen, to accept your very kind invitation, and to listen to the cordial welcome which you have been good enough to give me today. I particularly welcome, too, your consideration in allowing me to meet you in this way and to have the

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to an address from the Committee of the European Association, Bombay.

opportunity of making your personal acquaintance, and of saying a few words without undue formality in reply to your address of welcome. I thank you for the very kind remarks you have been good enough to make about such work as I have been able to do since I have occupied my present office. No one who holds that office can at any time be without feelings of deep humility when he contemplates the responsibilities that fall upon him, and the importance for good or ill of the decisions which fall to be taken by him. I am more grateful than I can say for the sympathy and consideration which I have had from representatives of all parties and all interests in this country since I assumed office—now nearly three years ago. And nothing could be a source of greater satisfaction to me than to feel that I have your confidence and the confidence and support of the European community whom you so ably represent.

You have mentioned the developments that have taken place in connection with Federation and Defence, and I warmly welcome the view to which you have given expression, that the scheme of Federation outlined in the Government of India Act of 1935 affords the only possible solution of the numerous problems of India. I touched in remarks which I recently made elsewhere on the dangers of fissiparous tendencies—dangers which you have yourselves recognised. I know that doubts may exist in many quarters as to the wisdom of the federal scheme, and yet, as I have repeatedly made clear, I am unable myself to feel those doubts. I feel indeed a very strong conviction in precisely the contrary sense—that the federal scheme is the right answer to the problems of today, and that its early achievement is of the first importance to the welfare and the future of India.

I was greatly interested in hearing that you have constituted a Defence Sub-Committee for the purpose of

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studying and elucidating the numerous complex issues affecting the defence of India. If I may say so, I am quite sure that in no way can a body representing such important interests as you do make a greater contribution to the right direction of those political questions which affect the European community than by a procedure of this nature, and I am sure that your Monthly Bulletin equally serves a very valuable purpose by familiarising members of the Association, who may not themselves have the time to go in detail into these numerous difficult political questions, with the points of view of other representatives both of the European community and of other communities and political parties in India.

I listened with great interest to the account of the arrangements you are making consequent on the recent crisis for the establishment of a roll of Europeans for a civilian reserve, and I am glad to think that the response to your appeal should be so effective as you tell me that you anticipate that it will be.

You, Gentlemen, living in an autonomous province, under a Government based on the support of a majority in the Legislature, can speak with authority on the working of provincial autonomy. I am delighted to hear that your relations with Ministers should have been so good, and that you have found it possible to support the Government in power in (to use your own words) "the very sound and beneficial measures which have been introduced". You mentioned that you have, on occasion, where you were satisfied that you were unable to accept the view advocated by your Government, felt bound to oppose them. That is a state of things that must occur under any parliamentary system which is working satisfactorily, and I am sure that you are right in saying that one essential of a democratic system is that all points of view should be maintained with

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to an address from the Committee of the European Association, Bombay.

sincerity and vigour. And reasoned opposition, based on argument, is rarely, in my experience of politics, misunderstood.

I realise that the changed constitutional position in India, and the greater direct responsibility which the European community, like others, has to bear in the enlarged legislatures and under the scheme of provincial government, necessarily impose an additional burden upon your organization, and an additional demand on the public spirit of your members and their readiness to accept the added responsibilities placed upon them. I am confident that your Association, which has done such good work in the past, will continue to rise to the heights of these new opportunities and these new obligations, heavy as the latter may be. Things have gone well so far—that, I think, one can fairly say, and that I judge to be your own assessment of the position on a broad view. The change that has taken place has been a very great change—a greater change, I suspect, than even now, after nearly two years of provincial autonomy, is fully realised. There may well be, from time to time, developments or incidents that you may find disturbing, or that may make you feel doubts as to the wisdom of the decision of Parliament as embodied in the Act. If I may venture to say anything on that subject it would be to ask for patience, for a realisation of how much has been done, and of the magnitude of the change which has been taking place with, broadly speaking, so little real friction or difficulty. When I speak of asking for patience, I ought rather to ask for a readiness to suspend judgment in cases of doubt ; though the record of the work of your Association over the 21 months since the introduction of provincial autonomy shows beyond any question in how full a degree the members of your Association have manifested their political sense ; and at what pains they have been to

Speech of His Excellency the Viceroy at the Presentation of Colours to the 2nd Battalion, 12th Frontier Force Regiment (Sikhs) at Bareilly.

equip themselves to make the best contribution they can to the furtherance of the constitutional scheme. The friendly relations that exist between the European community and the Government of the day—relations wholly consistent with the maintenance, as you have mentioned, of an entire independence of outlook on the part of the European community—are the best evidence that can be asked for of the degree of your success.

I know, in a different field, how close and valuable an interest you take in good causes in Bombay, and how long and excellent a record the European community has in regard to municipal affairs and in regard to charitable organizations. Let me take this opportunity to thank you most warmly on behalf of my wife for the kindness of the reference which you have made to her work in connection with the King-Emperor's anti-Tuberculosis Fund. Bombay has indeed made a very generous response to her appeal, and it is her sincere hope, as it is, if I may say so, mine, that the substantial sum which has been contributed by the City of Bombay and the Bombay Presidency will constitute a nucleus for the financing of preventive and curative measures for dealing with the scourge of tuberculosis, which will be of the greatest value to the Presidency as a whole.

I thank you once again, Gentlemen, for giving me the opportunity of meeting you here today and for your very kind and generous welcome to me.

SPEECH OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AT THE PRESENTATION OF COLOURS TO THE 2ND BATTALION, 12TH FRONTIER FORCE REGIMENT (SIKHS), AT BAREILLY.

February
1930.

His Excellency the Viceroy presented Colours to the 2nd Battalion, 12th Frontier Force Regiment (Sikhs), at Bareilly on

Speech of His Excellency the Viceroy at the Presentation of Colours to the 2nd Battalion, 12th Frontier Force Regiment (Sikhs) at Bareilly.

Tuesday, the 7th February 1939 and delivered the following speech :—

*Colonel Minchin, Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and men of the 2nd Battalion, 12th Frontier Force Regiment,—*It is a great pleasure to me, and I count it an honour and a privilege, to be here today to present, on behalf of His Majesty the King-Emperor, the new colours of your Battalion. This ceremony marks nearly a century of varied and distinguished service on widely scattered fields. The history of your Battalion carries the mind to places so distant as Somaliland and Kandahar and its record at critical stages in the history of this country is well-known. In recent times, you took part in Mesopotamia in what must be counted one of the most arduous campaigns of history, and the end of the Great War saw your Battalion rewarded with Battle Honours. I know that your long and eminent tradition is bound up with that of your linked Battalions, the 59th Royal Scinde Rifles Frontier Force and the 56th Punjabi Rifles Frontier Force, in which not a few of your officers and men have served.

It is however with India itself that your memory is primarily associated, and above all with the great task of protecting the North-West of India and of preserving peace on the Frontier in which the Frontier Forces have for years played so distinguished a part. In April of last year an opportunity came to me of paying a visit to the Frontier, and in the course of that visit I was reminded again and again of the great debt which India owes to the men who have for years served on her Frontiers. You have added to your fame by your part in important actions on the Frontier in recent years, both during the Great War and subsequently. But it is in long and devoted service, carried out patiently and unobtrusively and often in diffi-

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at Jaipur.

cult and arduous conditions, that the peculiar distinction of the Frontier Forces lies, and your name will be remembered no less for such service than for your share of honours in the field. You are returning shortly to the Frontier, and in wishing you the best of luck, I have every confidence that you will maintain and enrich the great tradition of your Battalion.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
STATE BANQUET AT JAIPUR.

28th February
1939.

H. E. the Viceroy made the following speech at the State Banquet at Jaipur on the 28th February 1939 :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank Your Highness warmly for the cordial welcome which you have extended to me and to my wife tonight. I have long looked forward to my visit to Jaipur, whose many memories, and whose distinguished history, are so familiar to me. I have listened with great interest and, if I may say so, with great encouragement, to Your Highness' speech this evening. Let me in the first place thank you for the reaffirmation which it contains of your loyalty and your devotion to the Person and the Throne of His Majesty the King-Emperor—so recently again displayed by your generous offer of assistance last autumn—which I will convey without delay to His Imperial Majesty.

Your Highness in your speech tonight has traced the record of administrative progress in Jaipur in recent years, and I listened, with close attention, to the account which you have given us of the many and various directions in which you are able to point today to improvement and to advance in the administrative field. These are times in which the establishment and the maintenance in that field of a high standard of efficiency, the removal of legitimate

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at Jaipur.

grievances, the maintenance and the encouragement of good relations and good understanding between landlord and tenant, between Ruler and ruled, are more important than ever before ; and I am sure that these are considerations that are fully present to Your Highness and to your Government.

I have listened with close interest to the arrangements which you have made to promote rural development, and I welcome your intention, despite the hampering effect of existing famine conditions, to endeavour to pursue the policy which has been inaugurated in that respect. My own interest in cattle-breeding, and my strong sense of the real importance of that question make me glad to think that so progressive a policy should, under Your Highness' auspices, have been adopted in regard to the improvement of the breed of cattle in Jaipur.

I share Your Highness' feeling of the importance which in these days attaches to the development of irrigation, and to the improvement of communications of every kind. It is no slight matter that your State should be able to point today to the admirable system of bund irrigation which you have mentioned, and I feel confident that that system can be relied, on a long view, to produce results of great importance to your State. You are in a position to claim that your roads vie with those of richer units. You can point to an impressive programme of railway development, the latest extensions of which afford not only better communications but the immediate advantage of relief works in areas of scarcity, while in the development of aviation Your Highness has taken an active and personal interest. In a different field—the field of education—the progress which has been made, particularly in regard to the education of women, is noteworthy.

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I regret indeed that my visit to Jaipur should have coincided with a second year of scarcity. But it is an encouragement to me to hear of the action that your Government has taken to relieve distress. And I have seen enough of your buildings, and in particular of your magnificent new hospital, to realise how present to Your Highness is the tradition of your great ancestor, Jai Singh. I congratulate you warmly on the results which you and your administration have been able to achieve in a field of such importance to the well-being of your State and of your subjects.

The immense value, in terms of the contentment and the prosperity of your subjects, whatever their class or creed, of a high level of administrative efficiency is rightly present to Your Highness. The benefit of certain of the schemes which you have mentioned to us tonight can hardly be expected to accrue in its fullness for some years to come. But it must be a cause of profound satisfaction to you that so much should already have been done, and that the basis of that administrative efficiency, which is so vital at the present day, should so early in your rule have been securely laid, and laid on solid and well-devised foundations.

I listened with the closest attention to what Your Highness was good enough to tell us of the steps you have taken to enable you to ascertain the needs of your people in regard to administrative questions, and to afford them, in your own words, opportunities to bring to the notice of your Government any matters of public concern which, in their opinion, require attention. This is a period when old standards call in many cases for re-examination and adjustment in the light of circumstances, when throughout the world the ebb and flow of changing conditions is marked to a greater degree than has been for many years the case,

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when in all countries the long view, and long-term planning, have assumed an importance far greater than they have occupied even in the critical years of the postwar period. In such conditions the importance of providing opportunities to enable public opinion to express itself, and to place on record, for the assistance of those on whom the burden of responsibility falls, the views and the opinions of the ordinary citizen, is greater far than it has been in the past, and in the light of modern requirements it is plainly necessary that there should be some machinery whereby Your Highness can be satisfied that any legitimate wants or grievances of your subjects can be brought to the notice of your Government so that they may be freely and promptly set right. I trust sincerely that the steps which you have taken and which you have mentioned to us tonight, will achieve Your Highness' object of securing the closer association of your subjects with the development of your administration and that, within the framework of the State and of the constitution, they will give your people the opportunity to bring to the notice of Your Highness and your Government considerations which may be relevant or germane to the decisions which fall to be taken within the area concerned. That in any arrangement of this nature there must inevitably be much of a provisional and an experimental character, goes without saying. All history gives evidence of that. And the passage of time, and the practical test of experience, may well show that in one way or another modifications of the scheme which you have now devised will be called for to secure the objects you have mentioned. It is clearly necessary that any machinery devised to meet those objects should be susceptible of readjustment as occasion may arise. I am confident that, should, that be the case, the same appreciation of the direction of modern thought, and of the necessity of adjusting

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at Jaipur.

administrative and other standards to the trend of modern development, will characterize the decisions which Your Highness may feel called upon to take.

Your Highness in your speech mentioned the Draft Instrument of Accession which, in common with other Ruling Princes, you have recently received. I welcome the assurance which you give me of the care with which you are considering that important document. My own views on Federation are well known ; and I do not tonight, on an occasion on which topics technical or potentially controversial would be out of place, propose to develop them again. But I might, I think, venture to say that, as Your Highness is well aware, I have never ceased to emphasize the extreme importance, from the point of view of all concerned, which I attach to the early realisation of Federation. For I am certain myself that it is the right and only solution of the difficulties of the present time. I realise fully the intricacy of many of the issues which arise, and, as Your Highness is aware, I have spared no pains to ensure that they should be elucidated in the fullest detail. But the ground has now been cleared. The long preliminary exploratory process necessary before the Draft Instrument of Accession in its present form could be presented to Your Highness and to other Princes for consideration is over, and the point is at hand at which the decision falls to be taken, a decision, as I have more than once made clear, which is for Your Highness and for other Ruling Princes yourselves to make.

I greatly appreciate the reference which you have been kind enough to make to the support which my officers have given you in your determination to guide Jaipur along the path of progress. You may be sure of their close and continued interest, as of my own, in everything affecting the welfare and the future of your State ; and I am glad

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at Jodhpur.

to think that it should be the intention of Your Highness that the path on which you have set your steps shall be actively pursued.

I thank you warmly on behalf of Lady Linlithgow for the cordial reference which you have made to the interest which she has taken in the work of combating Tuberculosis ; and I should like on her behalf also again to thank Your Highness publicly for the munificent donation given to the King-Emperor's Fund by Your Highness and by your State. I know how close an interest your State has taken in the provision of medical and hospital facilities, and I am glad to think that its contribution in a matter of such direct concern to your subjects should be on so generous a scale.

I thank Your Highness again on behalf of Lady Linlithgow, my daughters, and myself, for your cordial welcome, for your generous hospitality, and for the care and consideration which have marked every detail of the arrangements for our visit. It has been a great happiness to us to visit Jaipur, and we shall carry away the most agreeable recollections of the time we have spent in Your Highness' historic State, to which we wish all happiness and prosperity in the days to come.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join with me in drinking the health of His Highness Maharaja Sawai Man Singh Bahadur of Jaipur.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
STATE BANQUET AT JODHPUR.**

H. E. the Viceroy made the following speech at the State Banquet at Jodhpur on the 1st March 1939 :—

1st March
1939.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank Your Highness for the most kind words in which you have wel-

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at
Jodhpur.*

comed my wife and myself tonight. We have had the happiness on many occasions of meeting Your Highness elsewhere ; and we have long looked forward to our first visit to Jodhpur.

Your Highness referred in your speech to the inhospitable character of the country in which Jodhpur is situated, but it seems to be very frequently the case that the hardships of Nature produce races of tougher fibre, of greater courage and loyalty and indeed of more generous and hospitable instincts than do countries which have been more favoured. The history of Your Highness' illustrious House and of your State offer a conspicuous example of the truth of this tendency, and there are not wanting many evident proofs of its continued persistence even in the changed conditions of the present. Those adverse natural conditions, as Your Highness has mentioned, are not reflected in any lack of material prosperity. I can indeed congratulate Your Highness very warmly on the material progress to which you can point. Careful and sound administration are reflected in the annual income of your State ; in your substantial reserve of nearly 4 crores of rupees ; in such admirable institutions as the Windham Hospital and the new Female Hospital, which can challenge competition with the most completely equipped of their kind in India ; in the swift and effective steps taken to establish a water supply system which includes a canal 55 miles long ; in the generous annual expenditure of your State on medical and educational work ; in a sound and reliable railway and public works system ; and in your large and well organized Police Force. Your Highness' Military Forces and their high efficiency are well known ; I need say no more than that the Jodhpur Lancers form part of them.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at Jodhpur.

At Jodhpur Your Highness possesses one of the most up-to-date aerodromes in India. It is fitted with electric equipment for night landing and is a main aerodrome on the Trans-India route. It is used regularly by three Trans-India services and in 1937-38 as many as 877 machines landed there. This achievement has been made possible by the great personal interest which Your Highness has always taken in flying. Indeed aviation in India owes a great debt to Your Highness. Yourself a distinguished air pilot, you maintain a Flying Club in Jodhpur and you have always given the most willing assistance to the Royal Air Force. It is therefore with particular pleasure that I am able to announce tonight that His Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to confer on Your Highness the rank of Air Commodore in the Royal Air Force.

Your Highness has rightly pointed out that material advancement is not the sole end of good government, and I have listened with pleasure and appreciation to your views on the aspects, (to use your own words) other than material, of your policy and your administration. Your Highness has mentioned the religious impartiality of your Government and your concern to give fair treatment to all communities alike. The absence of communal troubles in Jodhpur is due, I would suggest, in no small degree to the confidence and contentment which the application of that policy by Your Highness and Your Highness' Government have inspired. And if that old fashioned loyalty and reverence for order in Jodhpur to which you have referred remains unshaken, it is not least, I am confident, because Your Highness has shown yourself personally worthy of such loyalty, because of the keen and immediate interest you take in the happiness and progress of your State and its inhabitants, and because the guiding principle of your

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at Jodhpur.

administration, your own close interest in which I am aware of and applaud, has been the good order of your State and the welfare of your people. The energetic measures taken by Your Highness' Government to bring relief to the stricken areas in the State which are suffering from a failure in the Monsoon last hot weather are but one example of this. In addition to a large sum set aside for famine relief, I understand that fodder depots have been set up to assist the emigration of cattle in search of pastures ; free grazing is being arranged wherever possible and taccavi is being distributed on a generous scale.

Your Highness in your speech mentioned that you were, and that you had been for a long time, fully prepared to take steps to associate your subjects in an increasing measure with your administration in the government of your State. I am aware of the steps Your Highness has taken to that end, details of which you gave us tonight, by establishing Panchayats in villages, Advisory Boards in many districts, and a Central Advisory Board. It is in these days, as Your Highness clearly appreciates, of vital importance not only that administration should be conducted on sound and up-to-date lines, but that adequate provision should exist for the ventilation of legitimate grievances, and for bringing to the notice of the Government of the State the wants and the suggestions of its subjects. The detail of such provision must, of course, vary with circumstances, and it is clear that no rigid uniformity of system can wisely be expected. The nature, equally, of the arrangements to be made to achieve those objects must be for the decision of the Ruler. I trust sincerely that the system Your Highness has described to us tonight will prove of substantial benefit to your people and will win their appreciation. In wishing all success to Your Highness in your progress towards the goal which you have set before

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you, I would add only that in these days of stress and change it is of real importance, if arrangements of this nature are to bear full fruit and to achieve the object you have in view, that their adequacy and the smoothness with which they are running should be under constant scrutiny, so that such adjustments or such changes as practical working may indicate to be desirable or necessary may admit of being made with the minimum of difficulty or friction.

I have listened with attention to Your Highness' remarks on the vital question of Federation, and the objects and the ideals which Federation represents ; and I welcome what you tell me of your attitude towards this great question—an attitude all the more significant when we are dealing with a State of the importance and with the historic tradition of Jodhpur. I note too, with satisfaction, Your Highness' claim in this connection that you and your State can point to a level of administration as high as that of the Provinces of British India. The decision as to accession to the Federation of India this matter is one for Your Highness to take, and, neither in the case of Jodhpur nor in the case of any other State, will any pressure in regard to that decision be brought to bear upon a Ruler. I am glad to think that, on the judgment which Your Highness has yourself formed, and to the extent that you feel able at this stage to reach any judgment, Jodhpur has no need to shrink from entering the Federation.

Your Highness' assurances of Jodhpur's loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor rest on more than words. Your Forces played a most distinguished part not only in the Great War, but in the many other campaigns in which their assistance was freely offered to the Empire and gratefully accepted. Your Highness was amongst the first last autumn when a crisis developed which led to the

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immediate threat of War to offer the assistance of all the resources of your State ; and I feel no shadow of doubt that should the need arise, amongst the foremost to help the Empire in its need will be Your Highness and the State of Jodhpur.

Let me, in conclusion, thank Your Highness again for the warmth of your welcome to us tonight, and let me repeat how greatly we have enjoyed our visit to you, and how glad we are to see you in your own Capital, surrounded by your own subjects, and able to point to so many evidences of good administration and of Your Highness' constant anxiety to secure the welfare and the progress of your people.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I give you the health of His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
STATE BANQUET AT UDAIPUR.

4th March
1939.

H. E. the Viceroy made the following speech at the State Banquet at Udaipur on the 4th March 1939 :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am most grateful to Your Highness for the cordial terms in which you have been good enough to propose my health tonight, and I thank you most warmly, on behalf of my wife and myself, for the welcome you have given us and for your delightful hospitality. It is the greatest happiness to both of us to be able, after a delay much longer, as Your Highness knows, than we could have wished, to accept Your Highness' invitation to visit your renowned State and to see you amongst your people. On two occasions already I have had the pleasure of meeting Your Highness in Delhi, and nothing could give me greater satisfaction than to have this opportunity, now, of renewing my

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at Udaipur.

friendship with Your Highness in your own beautiful Capital. During the last two days we have seen much of interest around Udaipur and I can say without hesitation that nothing that we have seen has fallen short of our expectations. And that is no mean praise, for I have heard so often such glowing accounts of the beauty and picturesqueness of your city and its surroundings. No description of the view across the Pichola Lake at sunset on to the hills beyond, tinted with the hues of the fading day, and with the ever changing lights upon the water, can exaggerate its beauties. I look forward, too, to visiting, the day after tomorrow, your historic fortress of Chitor, the scene of so many battles and so many brave deeds and acts of noble self-sacrifice.

I rejoice to hear that you received such timely rainfall during the last monsoon, despite the uncertainty which so often attends it, and that such an exceptionally good Kharif crop should have been harvested. In this, Mewar has been more favoured than some of its neighbouring States, which have been hard hit by drought ; and I am glad to know that Your Highness is able to assist them by supplying fodder for their cattle. I understand also that Your Highness has been so good as to give permission for twenty thousand cattle to be brought into your State for grazing. This will be a great boon to many suffering agriculturists, and I am sure Your Highness will receive their sincere gratitude. I join with you in hoping that Providence will bless this State and all India with a plentiful monsoon this year. I can appreciate Your Highness' anxiety at the lack of water in your lakes and I can well imagine, too, how the beauty of your capital would, if possible, be enhanced even further if they were at their normal level.

I wholly share Your Highness' view as to the immense importance of the agriculturist. He is the solid foundation

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on which the welfare and the prosperity of India must rest. I had the advantage of seeing agricultural conditions in many parts of India at first hand eleven years ago, and I have spared no effort since I assumed my present office to make such small contribution as might lie in my power to the encouragement of agricultural improvement and development, and to bringing to the forefront the outstanding necessity for full and sympathetic consideration of agricultural problems.

Udaipur is, I understand, almost entirely agricultural, and it is in these circumstances a deep satisfaction to me to know that Your Highness is so alive to your responsibilities for the happiness and the contentment of your cultivators. I am glad that a careful land settlement should recently have been completed under the direction of a very experienced British Settlement Officer, and I have no doubt as to the beneficial effects likely to follow from it and from the Rural Development Department which Your Highness has just established. I understand that your Agricultural Officer has experimented with sugarcane, wheat, cotton, and bajra, and that there has been a distribution of improved varieties of cane and seeds amongst your cultivators. Those are steps the significance of which can be of great value, and I welcome the initiative which has been taken in respect of them.

I am gratified, too, to hear of the general progress and general advance that Your Highness has been able to achieve in all departments of the State administration during the last few years. In addition to the new revenue and settlement arrangements, your Military and Police Forces have been reorganised, your Judicial Department has been overhauled, you now have a High Court under the supervision of a Chief Judge, and many new laws and acts have been framed on the lines of those of British India and

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brought into use in the State. Attention has also been paid to education and public health, while industry has not been forgotten. There are now I understand, several cotton ginning and pressing factories, a cloth mill, and a sugar factory in Mewar. I know that Your Highness takes a keen and personal interest in the administration of your State, and I know, too, of the many hours each day spent by you at your office table to keep in close touch with all that is going on. I offer Your Highness my heartiest congratulations upon this and upon all that you have achieved in the nine years of your rule over this illustrious State. These are days in which administrative efficiency is of most material importance, and improvements such as those which I have mentioned—a review of revenue and settlement arrangements, the attention which has been devoted to ensuring that your subjects have the benefit of adequate and reliable judicial arrangements, the revision of the Statute Book—are all clear proof of the extent to which Your Highness has the welfare of your subjects at heart. I have no doubt too,—and the village Panchayat Act which Your Highness has just signed confirms me in this—that Your Highness, in the time to come, will continue to ensure that your people are given all due opportunities of bringing their wants and their troubles to the notice of your Government. I take this opportunity to touch upon that point, but I touch upon it in general terms. For, as has been made clear by the pronouncements recently made in Parliament on behalf of His Majesty's Government and by myself on various public occasions, the adoption or the development of the particular form of constitution best suited to the needs of his people and his State is a matter primarily and essentially for the Ruler himself, and one the decision in regard to which must be left to his own wisdom and his own foresight.

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Your Highness mentioned that you had under your consideration the draft Instrument of Accession which has recently been communicated to you. I entirely understand your feeling that it would be premature for you to express any view on terms of Instrument until the consideration which you are giving to that most important document has reached a further stage. I would only repeat what I think I have elsewhere made clear, that the decision, in this matter of such fundamental significance to the Indian States, and indeed to India as a whole, is one that has of set purpose been left to the free and unfettered judgment of individual Rulers concerned.

I much appreciate Your Highness' expression of loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor, and I will convey it to His Majesty at the earliest opportunity. I know that your words, which I so greatly value, reflect the long and close connection of Rulers of Mewar who have from time immemorial been so noted for their devotion to the causes they have supported, with the King-Emperor and with his illustrious predecessors.

I greatly appreciate, too, the cordial and friendly references which Your Highness has been kind enough to make to the untiring efforts of Mr. Chamberlain in the cause of peace, and your assurance of support. These are difficult days, in which many anxious problems confront those on whom falls the task of guiding the destinies of Great Britain and the Empire. We may, I think, reflect with deep and real satisfaction on the progress which the Prime Minister has been able to make—progress which cannot but be a most helpful augury for the future.

Your Highness has but recently taken the momentous step of adopting an heir and successor, and it has been a very great pleasure to me during my visit to Udaipur to

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Animal Nutrition Wing of the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute at Izatnagar.

make the personal acquaintance of Maharaj Kunwar Bhagrati Singhji. I am sure that Your Highness' decision to make an adoption now, when you are in a position yourself to take a close and personal interest in the education and the training of your heir, is a wise one, and one in the best interest alike of your ancient House and of this famous State.

I thank Your Highness on behalf of Lady Linlithgow for your most kindly reference to the success which has attended her Appeal on behalf of the King-Emperor's Anti-Tuberculosis Fund—a reference which she greatly appreciates. And I thank you, too, most warmly, on her behalf and on behalf of my family and myself for your most generous and cordial hospitality. Our visit to Udaipur, to which we have so keenly looked forward for so long, and this first occasion on which we have had the pleasure of meeting Your Highness in your own State, will be an enduring memory for us.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to drink the health of our illustrious host, His Highness Maharana Sir Bhupal Singh of Udaipur.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
OPENING OF THE ANIMAL NUTRITION WING OF
THE IMPERIAL VETERINARY RESEARCH INSTITUTE
AT IZATNAGAR.**

H. E. the Viceroy opened the Animal Nutrition Wing of the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute at Izatnagar on the 11th March 1939 and made the following speech :—

Sir Jagdish Prasad, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Knowing my great interest in agricultural and veterinary matters,

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you will realise how glad I am to be here today for this, to my mind, most important occasion.

I was much interested in the account which you, Sir Jagdish, have just given in your address of the development of the Institute and the expansion of its work. These two buildings which I have come to open, and indeed the whole of this estate here, and the hilltop buildings in Kumaon, which together form the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute, represent not so much the maturing of a considered plan as a process of inevitable growth. It is a matter of common observation that in the medical profession the progress of attention has been from cure of disease to prevention of disease and then to the establishment of health. This progress does not mean that medical interest is directed towards the latter aim in substitution of the former. It merely indicates that with the growth of human knowledge and experience and of a proper understanding and use of scientific enquiry, attention which at first is confined to phenomena, extends itself to cover causes.

The general trend of veterinary activities presents a good example of this general progress which I have just described. Let me explain. The first point I would emphasise is the vastness of India's animal population, which is to the student perhaps the most significant characteristic of her veterinary problems. She holds a substantial proportion of the domestic animals of the world. Indeed, with an estimated total of 215 million animals, she carries over one-fourth of the world's stock of cattle and two-thirds of its buffaloes. In addition, she sustains something like 97 million sheep and goats. It is generally agreed that this aggregate of domestic animals is larger than is required in a properly balanced economy and that it imposes a too heavy demand in terms of fodder and

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Animal Nutrition Wing of the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute at Izatnagar.

feeding stuffs. There can be little doubt that the prevalence of animal disease in India is the main clue to the enormous stock of animals which India houses. In the past very heavy losses have been suffered from contagious diseases of animals such as rinderpest, anthrax, surra, and the like. These losses menaced often the actual carrying out of agricultural operations which, since their timing and rotation is fixed by the cycle of the seasons, must be punctually carried out, and will indeed wait for no man. In India the bullock is almost the only source of tractive power, and epidemics of animal disease may deprive the cultivator both of the value of his working bullocks and of a large part of his crop. So long, therefore, as disease reigned more or less uncontrolled, the cultivator and all who depended on the use of animals tended to carry a very large stock of them, since experience had taught that in the event of epizootic disease there would then be the chance of sufficient animals surviving to enable them at least to carry on. Clearly, under conditions where these diseases had more or less a free run, numbers were more important than quality and with overstocking and consequent shortage of fodder, it was unlikely that the average cultivator would maintain animals of substantial value.

A first and essential step towards the improvement of the quality of our stock has therefore been the control of animal diseases, and it was to meet this need that this Institute was founded almost 50 years ago. The decades intervening provide a record of the success in this most important aim. This Institute has established a deserved reputation and if animal disease is no longer the terror in India that it was half a century ago, much of the credit must be given to this and to similar establishments elsewhere which have concentrated on the study of animal

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diseases and on the production of remedies and preventives for them.

The importance of preventive work, which is the second in the sequence I mentioned, was early realised, and those in charge of the Institute set themselves to organising this side of veterinary work. The serum products which this Institute has produced and of which it is now so large a supplier are, I am sure you will agree, a testimony to the efficiency with which this work has been carried out. The annual production of anti-rinderpest serum alone is over 700,000 doses, while the figures for other sera are equally of impressive dimensions. The rinderpest vaccine, in the development of which this Institute played a distinguished part, is an illustration of the results of continued efficient research, for it represents a comparatively cheap and easy method of bringing rinderpest under control, and the local preparation of this vaccine in a properly equipped provincial laboratory is now quite feasible. Advance in economy, simplicity and safety are all represented in this effort of research. You will all appreciate how the climatic conditions of India add to the difficulties attendant on serum manufacture and the preservation of the viability of these delicate products ; and how, in consequence, provision of cold storage in the near future at Izatnagar will simplify and cheapen this storage problem.

The third stage in the sequence which I mentioned was the establishment of health, which means, for veterinary purposes, the establishment of animal well-being and of the general conditions which will strengthen the animal's resistance and improve its quality. This Animal Nutrition building which is before us now represents, as it were, the realisation in brick and mortar of the full recognition of this important branch of veterinary science. It is not

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appropriate for me to dilate here on the vital importance of scientific nutrition. The interest in this question is now wide and general, and you are all aware of the necessity of food with effective and balanced nutritive value for the proper functioning of the body. What applies to human beings applies with equal force to animals, and in India possibly with even greater force. The more I travel round India ; the more I reflect on the deeper and more intimate problems of her rural economy and the physical well-being of her millions ; the more am I confirmed in the importance I attach to raising the quality of her cattle and animal population. To the great mass of the inhabitants good animals mean better and more profitable farming and more nourishing food. This important—indeed this fundamental—position which animals occupy in India's economy demands that no effort should be spared to see that the resources of science and technical skill are devoted to examining the improvement of animal nutrition, and that the resultant knowledge on this subject is made available both to governments and, in popular form, to the farming community at large. This Animal Nutrition Branch of the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute will supply a most important need, and on behalf of all present here today I wish it all success.

The other new building which I have been invited to open represents a direct attempt to cope with a large, but till recently curiously neglected, side of Indian agricultural and connected activities. It is destined, I feel confident to make a most valuable contribution towards the solution of those problems that today beset the poultry keeper in India. The part played by disease as the opponent of quality of production, which I mentioned earlier in regard to animals, applies markedly in the case of poultry in India.

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So long as disease regularly sweeps off birds in large numbers there can be no sufficient incentive for ordinary owners to go in for quality as against quantity. It is, I believe, the case that nearly all the poultry diseases which have shown themselves in India can readily be controlled ; and, if this be so, it is the measure of the opportunity before this Institute, and before those who will place the knowledge which will be acquired within these walls at the disposal of the cultivator and the poultry keeper.

In comparison with world figures India's total of domestic fowls and ducks is not so striking as the animal total. Nevertheless the gross figure of domestic fowls in India is estimated at 173 million birds,—a figure from which the dimensions of the problem and the opportunity can at once be realised. A point of great interest is that in this particular departure the Institute is getting to grips at first hand with the commercial problem of the industry. I am convinced that there is great scope in India for the development of the poultry industry. The first requisite for that development is knowledge and it is the object of this Institute to provide it. I have every confidence that the Officer-in-Charge, with his staff, will be able at no distant date to render more profitable the business of poultry keeping in this country.

I will not detain you longer. I thank you, Sir Jagdish, for inviting me here today. I have much pleasure in declaring these buildings open.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE CROWN REPRESENTATIVE'S
SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE 1939 SESSION
OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES.**

31st March
1939.

H. E. the Crown Representative opened the Session of the

*His Excellency the Crown Representative's speech at the opening
of the 1939 Session of the Chamber of Princes.*

Chamber of Princes on the 13th March 1939 and made the following speech :— •

Your Highnesses,—I am very glad to welcome you again today and to say how great a pleasure it is to me to have this opportunity of seeing you and of presiding over your deliberations.

Since we last met, this Chamber has to mourn the loss of many distinguished Rulers—His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, His Highness the Raja of Sawant-wadi, His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior), His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, His Highness the Maharaja of Kishengarh, His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda, all of them Members of the Chamber, the Maharaja of Sonapur, the Raja of Gangpur, the *ex*-Raja of Mudhol, and the *ex*-Thakor Saheb of Dhrol. I am sure that it will be the wish of all Your Highnesses that we should place on record our deep sympathy with the families of the Rulers whose names I have mentioned, and that we should wish all happiness and all prosperity to their successors. I might perhaps mention among those who are no longer with us the names of two Princes in particular—His Highness the late Maharaja of Patiala, who had for some ten years been Chancellor of this Chamber of Princes, and who had achieved the distinction of being made a Lieutenant-General and an A.D.C. to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor ; and His Highness the late Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda. Although His Highness the Gaekwar had of late years been prevented by the decline in his health from taking an active part in the proceedings of this Chamber, or from spending as long a time as he could have wished in his most important State, he had, as Your Highnesses are all aware, endeared himself to his people by his close attention to their interests, and he had had the insight in those circumstances to

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select a wise and able Dewan, and to repose full confidence in him.

Since the last meeting of the Chamber, the Raja of Jawhar has been vested with ruling powers on the termination of his minority, and I have had the pleasure of recognizing the successions of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch), His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, His Highness the Raja of Sawantwadi, The Thakor Saheb of Dhrol, The Raja of Mudhol, His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda and the Maharaja of Sonapur. I am sure it will be your wish that I should welcome all of them who are present to the Chamber today.

Dewan Bahadur Pandit Dharam Narain, Musahib Ala, Udaipur State, and Sir Shanmukham Chetty, were among the Representatives of India at the meetings of the League of Nations held in 1937 and 1938 respectively. Their reports will be presented at this session of the Chamber by His Highness the Chancellor.

In the international crisis which weighed so heavily on us all in the autumn of last year, the most generous offers to place the resources of their States and their own services at the disposal of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor were received from very many States. Those generous offers constitute yet another proof, if such were needed, of the loyalty and devotion of the Princely Order to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor ; and I take this opportunity to express my own most warm appreciation to the Princes in general of those offers, which were, I can assure them, most deeply appreciated.

When I last had the honour of addressing Your Highnesses, I referred to the steps which I had taken to assist individual Rulers in reaching a decision in regard to

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a most important matter—their accession to the Federation of India. It has taken longer than I could have hoped to clear the ground and to examine the numerous points, points of varying importance, raised by individual Rulers in one connection or another with the federal offer. But that work is now completed. The points advanced for consideration by the Rulers of the Indian States have, without exception been examined, and the federal offer framed in the light of a close and objective examination of those points has now been drawn up and communicated to the States. I do not propose today to enlarge on this most important question. I will only say that the interests of Your Highnesses and of the Princely Order as a whole, and the representations which have reached me, have received the fullest and most sympathetic consideration. I am content now to await the verdict of the Rulers ; and I will add only that the decision which has to be taken is one of supreme importance to Your Highnesses, to your Dynasties, and to India ; and that I feel confident that it will be approached with a full sense of the heavy obligation which rests upon you in this matter. For myself, closely connected as I have been with the preparation of the federal scheme, and with the examination and the elucidation of the various points of obscurity or difficulty, which have suggested themselves to Your Highnesses in the course of your examination of it, I will say no more today than this—that that scheme, to the devising and the acceptance of which Members of Your Highnesses Order present here today contributed in so material a degree, represents the result of a close and careful examination of this most important question by the best talent of India and of Great Britain. While in the nature of things it may have flaws and imperfections of its own, no one has yet succeeded in devising a more

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satisfactory method of dealing with the problems which have confronted Your Highnesses than the scheme of Federation embodied in the Act of 1935.

I am not ignorant that in recent times the Rulers of Indian States have been passing through in many cases a period of stress and difficulty. Far be it from me to deny that there have been many cases in which States have been subjected to attacks which were entirely unjustified, attacks in which one has been unable to trace any scrupulous regard for strict accuracy, or any real desire to promote the welfare of the State or of its people. But making all allowance for the fact that attacks of that nature have frequently been made, it is, I am sure, as plain to Your Highnesses as it is to me that it is more than ever essential in present conditions and in this changing world in which we live that the authorities of the Indian States should without exception make it their constant care to watch for and to remedy any legitimate grievances that may exist in the administrative field. Your Highnesses will agree with me that it is, equally, as clearly in the interests of all Rulers as it is their plain and manifest duty, to ensure by their own close personal interest in the affairs of their State, in the work of their officials, and in the daily life of their subjects, that those subjects have cause for content, that they are not allowed to suffer undue exactions either on behalf of the State itself or at the call of unworthy officials, and that all genuine grievances receive prompt and active consideration. It goes without saying that an effective machinery by which the authorities of the States can satisfy themselves that all such complaints can readily reach the ears of the Durbar is an essential necessity in present conditions; and Your Highnesses will all agree with me that it is equally essential that the peoples of the States should feel

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assured that their wants, their difficulties and their representations will receive the fullest attention and the fullest sympathy. Whatever may be the motives or the causes underlying criticisms of, or attacks on, the Indian States, the vulnerability of Durbars will obviously be increased if any legitimate grievances are left unredressed for agitation to exploit.

• It is not to be expected even if every care is taken in those respects that the voice of criticism will be stilled. No Government in the world can in these days of ever increasing publicity, of ever increasing public interest in the conduct of administration and in the disposal of the public revenues, hope for this. But the importance of stating your cases will not have escaped the attention of Your Highnesses, and there can be no more effective method of disposing of unjustified criticism of the administration of a State than publicity designed to set out the true facts. There are many States which publish admirable Administration Reports, setting out in detail the true condition of affairs in the State, for all to see. Those States in which this practice has not yet been adopted would, I suggest, do well to consider the advisability of following the example of their neighbours in this matter.

Your Highnesses will have seen the declarations recently made in Parliament on behalf of His Majesty's Government, declarations which I have myself repeated in public utterances, in regard to constitutional changes or developments in the Indian States. Those statements will have made clear the attitude in this matter of His Majesty's Government, which is, I may repeat, that the decision as to the constitution best suited to the needs of his people and his State rests with the Ruler himself to take, and that no pressure will be brought to bear on him in this respect by the Paramount Power. Nor will any

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obstruction be placed in his way by the Paramount Power should he wish to give effect to constitutional advances consistent with his Treaty obligations. The actual form of such constitutional machinery as a Ruler may in these circumstances decide to establish in his State must I readily recognize, vary according to conditions ; and it is obvious that full consideration must be given to local circumstances and conditions, and that the variation in those local circumstances and conditions may be reflected in a variation in the form of constitutional machinery to be devised or adopted in the case of a particular State. But making the fullest allowance for that fact, Your Highnesses will, I am quite certain, agree with me that the more personal the form of rule, the greater is the need for personal touch. He who would be the father of his people must satisfy himself that all classes of his subjects are given their fair share in the benefits of his rule, and that an undue proportion of the revenue of his State is not reserved for his own expenditure. And the fact that the normal sphere of the activities of a Ruler lies within the four corners of his State calls for no emphasis from me. An absentee Ruler, like an absentee landlord, represents a condition of affairs that has never easily admitted of justification ; and that has never been more markedly the case than in the conditions of the present day. That there may on occasion be reasons, over which he has no control, which make it necessary for a Ruler to absent himself for material periods from his territory I of course accept. But Your Highnesses, with your long and wide experience, will agree with me that, in such an event, it is essential that the Ruler so obliged to be absent from the personal direction of affairs in his State should satisfy himself beyond any question that those to whom he

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entrusts the government of his State are fully worthy of his confidence.

As Your Highnesses have lately been assured, the Paramount Power stands ready to support the Princes in the fulfilment of its Treaty obligations. That does not, I need not say, for a moment mean that the Princes themselves are not the primary custodians of their ancient and illustrious heritage. How often has it not been impressed on the Princes of India by those who have had their best interests at heart that they should sink their differences and stand shoulder to shoulder for the good of their States and for their own happiness and peace of mind ? Can it honestly be said, looking back as we do today over any period of years, that much has been achieved in pursuance of that advice ? There is no class and no community in the world which does not contain its weaker brethren. But it is, as Your Highnesses so well know, the common tendency of mankind to generalise and one Ruler who ignores the welfare of his subjects is only too apt to be regarded as an embodiment of all his neighbours. Is it not possible that the more far-sighted Princes should combine to point out to such a Ruler by means of friendly advice the error of his ways, so that discredit may not be brought upon the entire Princely Order ?

In no case is the need for co-operation and combination more patent, more pronounced, and more immediate than in the case of the smaller States. Those States whose resources are so limited as virtually to preclude them individually from providing for the requirements of their people in accordance with modern standards have indeed no other practical alternative before them. I would take this opportunity to impress on the Rulers of such States, with all the emphasis at my command, the wisdom of

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taking the earliest possible steps to combine with their neighbours in the matter of administrative services so far as this is practicable. In doing so, they can rely upon receiving all possible assistance and advice from me and from my advisers. But the need is urgent and pressing. It calls for prompt action on the part of those concerned, and it is, in my judgment, vital in the interests of the smaller States themselves that no time whatever should be lost in taking the necessary steps.

Your Highnesses, I have touched in the few remarks I have had the pleasure of addressing to you today on matters of great significance and great consequence to the States and to their Rulers. I feel sure that the significance of what I have said will not be lost upon you at a moment such as the present, of crucial importance in the development of the history of India. I do not desire to detain you longer this morning. Let me only again thank you for the opportunity of seeing you, and extend my best good wishes to you for a profitable session and for the successful discharge of the business which lies before us.

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GENERAL MEETING OF THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE
ASSOCIATION AND THE INDIAN RED CROSS
SOCIETY.

28th March
1930.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society on Tuesday, the 28th March 1930 :—

Your Highness, Sir Ernest Burdon, General Bradfield. Ladies and Gentlemen,—It gives me much pleasure to attend once again this annual general meeting of the two Societies of which you are members and to welcome you here this afternoon. As I said last year, to one whose daily bread is the study of politics and its conflict of interests, it is encouraging to turn to a sphere of activity

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the Indian Red Cross Society.*

where enthusiasm and unity of interest in humanitarian activity are so apparent. The presence here every year of so many representatives, to many of whom I am fully aware the visit to Imperial Headquarters involves long and tiring journeys and considerable sacrifice of time, is evidence enough of this. So too are the annual reports and the activities to which you, Sir Ernest Burdon and General Bradfield, have just referred in your speeches.

These two speeches have given us a clear picture of the activities of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society, and I do not propose to cover the ground again. The President's speech, on an occasion like this, is more usefully confined to looking at the picture in its broadest outlines while leaving the detail to others. Looking at the activities of the two Societies from this point of view, I would say, and I am sure you will all agree, that the progress made in the last year is very satisfactory.

Broadly speaking, the aim of these Societies is to turn the normal human feeling of sympathy for suffering humanity into practical channels whether by giving help and assistance to those actually suffering or by training people to render assistance to sufferers or to organise preventive measures.

The Red Cross Society has continued to make its contributions to international relief, the necessity for which is so unhappily on the increase, and it has also made contributions to flood and famine relief. The establishment by this Society also of tuberculosis dispensaries and the carrying out of surveys of social and economic factors responsible for this disease are valuable and important steps.

The increased number of members and branches of the two Societies is most encouraging. Most parts of

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the Indian Red Cross Society.*

India, all races and creeds, all ages are now embraced. I rotate with particular satisfaction the efforts made to attract the young. Activities such as the Junior Red Cross Society are of inestimable value, and I should also like to say how valuable are the international contacts made by school groups exchanging correspondence with similar groups in other countries. It is clear that imagination is being used not only to stimulate interest but to secure efficiency. The success of the Red Cross Society's cinema films and the increase in the demand for them is most encouraging and must have a profound effect on public opinion on these subjects. I cannot overestimate the value of continued and well-directed publicity in health and first-aid matters. I would like to mention too in connection with the efforts to secure efficiency the formation of the three new districts of the St. John Ambulance brigade. I am convinced of the wisdom of keeping the administrative unit to as manageable a size as possible.

The organisation of air-raid precautions and the comprehensive plans for the mobilisation of the joint resources of the two Societies in the event of war are another example of satisfactory organisation. Last year I said that in any work such as that with which your Associations are concerned, "Be Prepared" is as sound a watchword as any other. I expressed the hope then that the day would be far distant when the lessons learnt would have to be put into effect. None of us here today can feel quite confident that this day is as distant as we might hope, but we are encouraged by knowing that, should the calamity which we all so earnestly seek to avoid break upon us, preparations for humanitarian services of this kind are fully and satisfactorily made.

I trust, however, that the continued success which the two Societies have achieved will not lead them to rest on

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their laurels. There can be and should be no limit to the spread of humanitarian activities such as these and, the spread of knowledge so important not only for each of us but for society as a whole. I trust that the members of both Societies will continue to exert every endeavour to increase numbers and to think of new ways of fulfilling the aims of these Societies. As, in commerce, a successful firm will never cease to explore new markets for its products, so your two Societies should continue to examine every sphere of social activity in India for possible fields of development. From this point of view it is gratifying to see the establishment of First Aid Posts on the Grand Trunk Road in the Punjab which I consider a most interesting experiment and a line of activity which can profitably be pursued.

There is one field of activity which I should like specially to mention and that is the welfare of women in India. We have been privileged this year to receive a visit from the Hon'ble Mrs. Copland-Griffiths who brought a message from Her Majesty the Queen Empress to Nursing Divisions of the St. John Ambulance Association in India. I hope that her visit and the Queen's message will help to focus attention among the members of the Association and also among Indian women as a whole on the need for increasing the interest in, and, if possible expanding activities undertaken in connection with, the welfare of women and, may I add, especially in home nursing. The importance of such work needs no emphasis from me.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I cannot close without reference to two other matters. The first is the Anti-Tuberculosis fund. The results of Her Excellency's appeal have on the whole been satisfactory and I would like first to thank all those who have contributed to its

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Inaugural meeting of the Committee of the All-India Cattle Show Society.

success and especially the many members of the two Associations represented here today who played so active a part. I think I will be expressing the views of all of you here in wishing the new Tuberculosis Association of India a long life of continued and useful activity.

The second matter is the tragic death of His Excellency the late Lord Brabourne. Much has been said in praise of his qualities both as a man and as an administrator. We here this afternoon must deplore his death from the point of view of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Red Cross Society. For the welfare and the progress of these two Associations he gave, as he always gave for everything, his best, and his death means a loss to both of them, which will be hard to fill. I am sure I voice the feelings of all of us here this afternoon in extending to the Lady Brabourne our deepest and most sincere sympathy.

Once again, Ladies and Gentlemen, let me thank you all for coming here today and for all the good work which you have been and are doing in your various Provinces and States, and through you those other workers with whom you are associated. I wish you all success and I trust that in the future you will continue your efforts not only to maintain but to spread the useful work which you are doing.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
INAUGURAL MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF
THE ALL-INDIA CATTLE SHOW SOCIETY.**

22nd July
1939.

In opening the inaugural meeting of the Committee of the All-India Cattle Show Society His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech on Saturday, the 22nd July 1939 :—

Sir Jagdish and Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure for me to be with you today at this inaugural meeting of

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Inaugural meeting
of the Committee of the All-India Cattle Show Society.*

the General Committee of the All-India Cattle Show Society.

It is now some years ago since I first had occasion to apply my mind to the rural economy of India. The more I have studied the problems of the countryside, and the life and work of the Indian farmer the more I have been impressed by the urgent need for bettering the quality of India's cattle and for improving the practice of animal husbandry throughout the country. It is no doubt true that there are many directions in which the methods of farming and the prosperity of the farmer can be advanced. I am however convinced that no particular line of advance offers prospects more attractive, or promises so early and so considerable an economic reward, as the improvement of cattle and their better care. Indeed, there is hardly a Province or State in India where the improvement of the indigenous livestock does not hold out possibilities of an incalculable increase in the total wealth of the community. For that reason I wholly endorse Sir Jagdish's claim that the all-India character of your membership constitutes the happiest augury for the future of your Society.

Cattle Shows—or more frequently cattle fairs—are a common feature of Indian life. There can be no doubt that these fairs have done much to maintain and stimulate interest in the quality of livestock in India. But the contribution that local fairs or shows can make towards breed improvement, the standardization of breed characteristics and the popularising of successful types, is plainly limited. What is required, if the best results are to follow, is an exhibition which presents to the interested public the opportunity of viewing, at some convenient centre, the best and most typical animals representing as many as possible

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of the famous breeds of Indian cattle. Those are the conditions which are capable of attracting experts from every part of the country as well as from overseas ; and which give to breeders the chance to develop their critical faculty and a keen eye for quality.

The first All-India Cattle Show held in New Delhi in 1938 was admittedly an experiment. It proved a substantial success and so also did the Show in 1939. They plainly indicated that they were something that everybody wanted, whether farmer, breeder, dealer or ordinary public. To give you one example of a sphere in which they were successful. Sales during the Show are, of course, forbidden. But it is known that sales of a considerable total value resulted directly from the Show. This is eminently satisfactory. I think too I may safely say that these Shows have placed Indian cattle on the world cattle map. Apart from the fact that illustrated articles regarding Indian cattle are now frequent in journals throughout the world, enquiries have been received from South America, West Indies, Phillipines, the Straits Settlements, East Africa, and Iraq regarding Indian cattle. A well-organised show at which the best breeds of cattle are exhibited naturally attracts the attention of agents of purchasers from other countries. Public interest has been stimulated and it is wise to lose no opportunity for maintaining it.

The experience gained from these Shows gave warrant for the setting up of a permanent organisation whose function is to be the conduct, year by year, of the All-India Cattle Show and the carrying on of activities connected therewith, including the furtherance of cattle breeding and the improvement of stock, and ultimately also the conduct of similar activities and organisation of shows in regard to other animals and poultry.

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The objects of the Society indicate that for the present your main attention is directed—as indeed I am well aware—to all the activities which in the cattle breeding areas are contributing towards the steady improvement of breeds. In this connection, I was particularly pleased to hear from Sir Jagdish Prasad that as a result of the two Shows already held one breed society has already been formed. I hope it will not now be long before those interested in other breeds will follow suit. I am glad to learn that Provincial Livestock Improvement Associations, District Associations, and Village Improvement Societies are playing an important part in this work in many Provinces and States. In the Punjab alone I am told there are 719 Cattle Improvement Societies, with about 15,000 members. This is admirable. Where such organisations are not available, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research are giving their assistance in the establishment of suitable agencies.

The great importance of breeding from selected sires is everywhere recognised, and in this connection you may be interested to hear the present position in regard to the appeal for the provision of stud bulls, which I myself launched in 1936. The number of approved bulls donated in response to that appeal is now estimated at 3,400. In addition, the authorities throughout India have already provided or have approved schemes for the provision in the near future of about 8,000 approved bulls. Needless to say, it is not sufficient merely to provide a bull. Money must be found and the necessary attention given to maintain the animal in optimum condition. This, I am glad to say, has been arranged in all cases. Again, this by itself is not sufficient. It is vital to the success of these endeavours that adequate records should be kept of the progeny of approved sires, so that a sustained effort may be

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made to secure that by due care in subsequent matings the improved strain may be used to the best purpose for raising the general level of the breed. The ultimate success of all our efforts towards breed improvement is entirely dependent upon the maintenance of sufficient and accurate records. Without such recording of pedigree and performance, the impulse will wane, and such improvement as may already have been obtained will be irretrievably lost in the vast aggregate of India's cattle population. It is in matters like this that your Society can do work of the utmost value.

During 1938 and 1939 classes at the All-India Cattle Show have been limited to cattle and buffaloes. That, I think, has been a wise decision, but I am glad to see that your constitution does not prevent your extending your activities at a later date to other kinds of livestock. I have no doubt that, through the Animal Husbandry Commissioner, your Society will be kept in touch with developments in this connection and will be informed, when a stage has been reached, where you can be of assistance. There are other animals of importance in India's rural economy, sheep, goats, camels and poultry, and I have no doubt that, as your Society develops, you will consider whether it is possible for you to include them also. You will not understand me as suggesting that your Society and your Show should immediately undertake these additional activities. I am satisfied that you are not yet in a position to do so. But it is desirable to bear in mind the immense possibilities for good which are latent in a Society such as yours. It is not unreasonable to look forward to the day when you will develop into the Central organisation in India, directing and assisting similar efforts in the various Provinces and States, fostering the highest standards in breeding and management, and setting the seal of your

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Inaugural meeting of the Committee of the All-India Cattle Show Society.

approval upon the careful, conscientious breeder by your selections from the finest animals in the whole country.

I do not overlook the fact that the forecast I have made involves the material consideration of finance. You will, I think, agree that the Central Government have not been ungenerous. They financed the first Show with a grant of Rs. 25,000 and have now placed a lump sum of Rs. 2½ lakhs at your Society's disposal. Admittedly, expenses in the first year or two are likely to be a trifle inflated by what we should ordinarily call non-recurring expenditure. The financial statement, which has been placed before you, shows, however, that you are not likely to bring your annual charges below about half a lakh. I am indeed glad to hear of the generous donations, both of cups and of money, which you have received. You must also be grateful to the Punjab Government which has set aside Rs. 8,000 on each occasion and has rendered valuable assistance in personnel and material. Considering the extent of the problem with which you deal and its immediate interest to almost every part of India, fifty thousand rupees a year is not a large sum divided among all Provinces and States concerned, and I am confident that the appeal for annual contributions, which is being made, will meet with a ready and generous response. Given adequate finance and the continuance of interest—which as long as India maintains so vast a cattle population and her peoples are so dependent on its quality, must continue—I foresee unlimited scope and usefulness for your Society. It is my constant conviction that those privileged to minister to the true interests of the cultivator have it in their power to strengthen the very life centres of this great country. Therefore I cannot overstate my sense of the value and importance of your mission. I trust that the highest success may reward your labours.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE BANQUET AT CUTTACK.

31st July
1939.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Banquet at Cuttack on Monday, the 31st July 1939 :—

Your Excellency, Lady Hubback, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My first duty is to thank Your Excellency for the kind words in which you have proposed my health. I need not say how great a pleasure it is to me to have been able to pay this visit, the first visit paid by a Viceroy to Orissa since the establishment of Orissa as a separate Province. My only regret and one, I know, shared by her is that my wife has not been able to accompany me. The life of Orissa as a separate Province is not yet a long one, but nevertheless I hasten to assure you all that I am fully conscious of the long history and the distinguished traditions associated with this part of India, and of the importance which Orissa now has in the scheme of India's political life. Your Excellency's reminder that the area of Orissa is greater than that of my native Scotland, and that its population exceeds that of the continent of Australia, is a timely one and focuses attention on the fact that when considering a political unit its full significance may be overlooked if it is considered only in comparison with other units possibly of a greater political importance. The fact of fundamental importance which has to be remembered is that its problems are problems which concern the lives, the well-being, and the happiness, of many millions of human beings, and of a large area of the earth's surface. It is only in this perspective that one can see the responsibilities of those who guide its Government.

It is natural that a new Province such as this should be faced with many difficult problems intimately associated with its development and with the place which you consider Orissa should rightfully hold among the Provinces of India. In your speech you touched on some of the

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Banquet at Cuttack.

most important of those problems. I will refer first to the difficult question of your Provincial Capital. After what I have seen today I certainly appreciate the difficulties facing Your Excellency's Government in deciding where to place the new buildings required for your Capital. Popular feeling, as finally expressed in a decision of the Provincial Legislature, has selected the historical site of Cuttack, but lack of space on this small peninsula drives you inevitably to look across the Mahanadi for what I may describe—to use a phrase only too familiar in other connections—as “living room”. But I fear that a major bridge formed no part of the estimates when the grants were calculated which make up the 42½ lakhs to be provided by the Central Government to assist Orissa with her building programme; and anxious as I naturally am to lend any possible encouragement in connection with projects the local interest of which is so great, it would be disingenuous of me were I to hold out any hope of further help from Central sources in connection with that programme. A bridge between Cuttack and Chauduar would not, I fear, supply a link in any trunk road project envisaged by the Transport Advisory Council; and when I tell you that to connect the coastal trunk road from Madras with the trunk road passing through Sambalpur by bridging the Mahanadi and the Katjuri at Cuttack would involve an expenditure in the neighbourhood of Rs. 64 lakhs—nearly three times, in other words, the annual receipts of a Road Fund Reserve which has to serve the needs of all the Provinces and all the States of India, the very great difficulties that stand in the way will be patent to you.

It is never a welcome or a pleasant task to have to remind a Provincial Government that where funds are concerned their claims must be considered in relation to the claims of other parts of India as a whole; and no one,

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I can assure you, is more conscious of that than I am. But these are facts that must be faced : and, as in the case of the Mahanadi bridge, I could but wish that I could hold out greater hopes to you in connection with the archaeological possibilities of Orissa. The potentialities of Orissa as a field for exploration have long been recognised, but, the whole field of archæology in India is of such a magnitude that Government effort must necessarily be confined to areas which are universally recognised as being of the greatest importance. I can assure you, however, that the claims of Orissa will not be overlooked.

As one profoundly interested in the wellbeing of the Indian peasantry I feel deeply the annual toll in misery and loss which floods take of the ryot ; and nowhere in India is the sacrifice demanded of the poor on this account greater or more frequent in its infliction than in Orissa. I am therefore particularly happy that Your Excellency's Government have so early taken steps to investigate the causes of these periodic disasters and to find a remedy. I shall await with much interest the recommendations of the Committee which the Government of Orissa have appointed. In the meantime you have already received proof of my own practical sympathy and that of my Government in the deputation of Mr. Inglis to assist in the work of the Committee. Not only has Mr. Inglis devoted many years to problems of river control : his presence in Orissa carries with it the guarantee of the technical assistance of the well-known Station of Hydrodynamic Research at Khadakvalsa of which he is the head, and which he has himself built up : and I feel confident that the Committee will turn to the fullest advantage the expert advice which Mr. Inglis and the Khadakvalsa Station are so well qualified to give.

You have mentioned the need for greater activity in educational, medical and similar development, particularly

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Banquet at Cuttack. in the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Koraput. There is no need for me to remind you that the primary responsibility for work on these and allied problems falls upon the Provinces, not upon the Central Government. But I should like to take this opportunity to emphasize the facilities provided by the Central Government for the co-ordination of information through such bodies as the Central Advisory Boards on Education and on Public Health, and I can assure you that the expert advisers with the Central Government will at all times be ready to lend their assistance in the examination of any schemes which the Provincial Government may have in mind.

I have reserved to the last the first problem to which Your Excellency drew my attention, namely, the relations between the people of the Province of Orissa and those in the neighbouring States. It is only natural that the people of Orissa should take a close interest in their neighbours who speak the same language and are imbued with the same culture. The physical boundary between the two is insubstantial ; backwards and forwards across it there flows a daily traffic of family and social intercourse, of business, and of trade. I have indeed, as you mentioned, been giving my constant attention during my term of office to the problem of the relation between States and British India and not least to relations between the Province of Orissa and the peoples of the Eastern States. It has always been my endeavour, and will continue to be so, to assist the Rulers of these States in advancing the prosperity and contentment of their subjects. And I am glad of Your Excellency's assurance that the people of Orissa desire to maintain the most friendly relations both with the Rulers of the Orissa States and with their subjects. Provinces and States are and must always be neighbours. They have each their own part to play in the progress of India, but the parts must be

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played in harmony and not in dissonance. The virtues of neighbourliness in ordinary community life need no defining by me. Is it too much to hope that these virtues should be projected into the wider relationship of political units ?

Your Excellency was good enough at the beginning of your speech to pay a very kind tribute to myself and to my work in India. Let me say at once that such success as I may have attained would not have been possible had it not been for the loyal and strenuous co-operation of my colleagues, the Governors. I realise to the full the burden of responsibility which they carry—a burden which has at any time in the past been a heavy one ; and to which in your case, Sir John, there have been added in the last three years not only the problems inseparable from the introduction of a new form of Constitution but those associated with the creation of a new Province. I should like, if I may, to pay a well-merited tribute to Your Excellency's labours and your skilful handling of the many problems both of the new Constitution and of Orissa. I have no doubt that Orissa owes, and will continue to owe, a very considerable debt of gratitude to her first Governor. I would like, too, to associate in this tribute Lady Hubback. I well know how much her devoted assistance has meant to Your Excellency. I know too with how much sympathy and how much success she has played her part in the furthering of all good causes, and in the relief of suffering, not only in this Province but in the other parts of India in which you and she have served. It gave me the greatest pleasure to present personally to you, Lady Hubback, here in this Province the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal which you have so well deserved. Let me in conclusion pay a tribute to the Ministers now carrying on the Government. Those who have experienced it will testify that the guidance of the

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in reply to addresses of welcome presented by the Hissar District Board and the Hissar District Soldiers' Board at Hissar.

ship of State in these troubled times is no easy task, but I am sure you will agree that the energy and resource with which the Ministry here have tackled their problems is an encouraging augury for the future.

I thank you again, Your Excellency, for your most generous welcome. I take again this opportunity of saying how glad I am to have visited Orissa and I wish yourself, Lady Hubback, and the Province success and, perhaps, in these dark days, an equally important wish, freedom from trouble. Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to drink the health of His Excellency the Governor of Orissa, coupled with the name of Lady Hubback.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH IN
REPLY TO ADDRESSES OF WELCOME PRESENTED
BY THE HISSAR DISTRICT BOARD AND THE
HISSAR DISTRICT SOLDIERS' BOARD AT HISSAR.

His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to addresses of Welcome presented by the Hissar District Board and the Hissar District Soldiers' Board on Sunday, the 6th August 1939, made the following speech :—

6th August
1939.

Sir Sikander, Mr. Hearn and Gentlemen,—I must first say what a great pleasure it is to me to be here today and to have received the addresses which you have presented. You all know how, as a countryman, I enjoy visiting rural areas and seeing the country people of India against their true and proper background. As an old soldier too it is always a great pleasure for me to meet old soldiers and those who have upheld the great martial traditions of the Punjab in all parts of the world. I am grateful for your assurances of loyalty and devotion to

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in reply to addresses of welcome presented by the Hissar District Board and the Hissar District Soldiers' Board at Hissar.

His Majesty the King-Emperor. The tradition of loyalty in the Punjab is a great one and I am confident that in these troublous times the Punjab still remains true to this great tradition that it always had.

Gentlemen of the District Board, in your address you refer to some of the pressing needs of this District, arising particularly from the difficult times through which you have just passed. You will not, I know, expect me to make promises to you in my reply. You must of course look to your Ministers to consider such claims as you feel you can justifiably make.

I note with pleasure the appreciative terms in which you speak of the efficiency and generosity of the measures taken by Government to deal with this famine. I would like myself to take this opportunity of paying my tribute also to the measures which they have taken in this connection. To see the efforts of the Government in true perspective it must be realised that the famine was not confined to Hissar District alone and that the Provincial Government had to organise relief on an extensive scale and to incur heavy expenditure in the Rohtak and Gurgaon Districts also. I have perused with great interest reports dealing with the steps taken by Government, and I am deeply impressed by their completeness and by the scale and the value of the work which they record. Fodder supplies for the maintenance of plough and milch cattle were guaranteed, and the famous breeds with which this District is associated have been preserved. It is gratifying to note also that the quality of animals has been maintained and that the difference between the 1938 and 1939 prices at the Hissar Cattle Fair has been so small. Owing to the intense activity of the Veterinary Department no contagious disease broke out among cattle. Let me add that

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I hope that in future years cattle from this District may compete successfully at the All-India Cattle Show.

The relief works, of which the carefully devised sanitary and hygienic arrangements have been so marked a feature, have been both extensive and useful. The sustained efforts which the Medical and Public Health Departments of the Punjab Government have been making to safeguard the health of the population in these famine-stricken areas have been outstanding, and I have noted with particular interest the efforts made to supply the deficiency in vitamins in the ordinary diet by the distribution of carrots and codliver oil. In paying my tribute to the Punjab Government and especially to the Ministers mainly responsible, I would like, with your permission, Sir Sikander, to compliment also the permanent officials and the technical officers on their excellent work, and on the energy and the close personal interest they have without exception displayed through a period of such prolonged anxiety. It would be invidious to single out individuals, but I feel I can without fear of arousing jealousy extend my warmest congratulations on the admirable results achieved to Mr. Dobson, to Mr. Hearn, to Mr. Brander, on whom a particularly heavy burden has fallen, to Mr. Bryan who was Deputy Commissioner when the famine work started and to whom great credit is due for its organisation on the right lines, and to the Fodder Adviser, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fateh-ud-din. I can pay them no higher tribute than to say that they have maintained to the full the very high standard which we have come to expect to be associated with Punjab Services.

I listened with close interest to your reference to the Bhakra Dam Project and I am glad to hear that the com-

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in reply to addresses of welcome presented by the Hissar District Board and the Hissar District Soldiers' Board at Hissar.

pletion of this Dam is the close concern of your Premier and the Ministers present here today. You will, I think, Gentlemen, hardly expect me to agree that the negotiations with the State of Bilaspur are the *only* obstacle to the realisation of this Project. I have studied the position in sufficient detail for myself to be familiar with its various complexities ; and I cannot in the result resist the conclusion that the problem is not by any means so simple, or so easy of satisfactory solution, as may at first sight appear.

I am grateful to you, Gentlemen of the Hissar District Board, for the statement of your activities, and I trust that the energy and the interest in the public welfare which you have shown in so many ways, both official and unofficial, will continue. I earnestly trust that the rains this year will be sufficient ; that plenty will reign again in the Hissar District, and that the desperate conditions which its inhabitants have so manfully endured will not repeat themselves.

As I mentioned before, it is always a great pleasure to meet old soldiers and I was much interested to hear the activities of the Hissar District Soldiers' Board. It is clear that despite the lack of funds to which you refer the Board has been doing most active and useful work. I note with especial interest the assistance rendered by it in connection with the famine.

You will not expect me to deal at length with the interesting points you have raised in your address which relate to the particular problems of the martial classes to which I listened with the greatest interest. I note with satisfaction your appreciation and gratitude for the extensive famine relief measures introduced by the Punjab Government, and your emphasis on the proof which they

H. E. the Viceroy's address to the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes at Viceregal Lodge, Simla.

constitute of the sympathy for the Hissar District of your Premier and his colleagues. Their constant interest in the welfare of the inhabitants, not only of Hissar but of the Punjab as a whole, needs no comment from me : and it is, in my opinion, a sufficient guarantee that the interests of the martial classes are in safe hands.

I note with satisfaction the resolution that in the event of war the martial classes of the Hissar District would offer their services in person and place all their resources at the disposal of Government. As I have said before these renewed assurances of loyalty are encouraging in times such as these. I only pray that circumstances should not arise in which you should be called upon to put into effect this resolution.

Gentlemen, I repeat again that it has been a great pleasure for me to visit Hissar today. I have been much interested in all I have seen. I am gratified to hear such sincere appreciation of the efforts of your Government and I am gratified that I have seen with my own eyes that these efforts have been successful and that Hissar has weathered conditions which tested the endurance of its inhabitants to the utmost. In taking my leave I wish you all, Gentlemen, the best of good fortune and freedom from the ills which have beset you in the past.

H. E. THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS TO THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES AT VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech when addressing the Members of the Standing Committee of the Chambers of Princes on 21st August 1939 :—

21st August
1939.

Your Highnesses,—It gave me great pleasure to accept the suggestion made to me by His Highness the

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Chancellor that I should receive the Members of the Standing Committee at Simla so that I might appreciate the difficulties of an important section of the Princely Order in regard to the Federal offer, and do what I could to dispel those difficulties, and I extend a very warm welcome to you this afternoon.

I think it will be best that I should make at the beginning of these proceedings some general observations. I shall, I need not say, be very glad to listen to any general comments which thereafter Your Highnesses may wish to make to me on the situation or on particular difficulties, and I think that when I have had the opportunity of hearing any such general comments should you, at this stage, desire to make any such comments, the best course will be that Your Highnesses should discuss the problems which are in your minds in their more technical and detailed aspects with my Political Department.

Let me, in the first instance, say how fully conscious I am of the onerous nature of the decision which it falls to the Princes to take at the present juncture. The choice is the free choice of each individual Ruler, and it is for him, and for him alone, to make up his own mind as to what decision he wishes to take. I have repeatedly made that clear in public ; it has been made clear by His Majesty's Government on various occasions ; and it is I am satisfied fully appreciated by the Princes ; but I think it well to take the opportunity of our meeting to-day again to place it on record. I think it desirable to do so because I have frankly been surprised to learn that the suggestion has been made in some quarters that my officers have been endeavouring to bring pressure to bear on Their Highnesses as to the course which they should adopt. So far as I know there is no foundation whatever for that allegation. That

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I myself regard the federal offer as a fair offer and a well-balanced one I have never concealed from Your Highnesses or from the public. I could not, with a clear conscience, have been responsible, under the instructions of His Majesty's Government, for communicating that offer to the Ruling Chiefs, had I not been entirely satisfied in my own mind on that point, as I am sure Your Highnesses will agree. That the offer may not in all respects come up to the expectations of individual Rulers, that it may in certain respects be unsatisfactory from their point of view, I, of course, readily accept as possible. But that does not affect my main point—that the offer, carefully worked out after long and patient discussion and investigation of the legitimate claims of the different Rulers and of the various other factors that have to be taken into consideration, represents an honest and sincere endeavour on the part of His Majesty's Government to put to the Princely Order propositions which in the view of His Majesty's Government may be regarded as representing a reasonable proposal. The offer has, as Your Highnesses are well aware, been elaborated with the utmost care ; and I think you will agree that no pains have been spared by His Majesty's Government, by my officers, or by myself, to give all possible assistance to the Princes with a view to clarifying points, and removing misunderstandings, which may arise in connection with it.

I have been gratified to receive replies which have made it clear to me that the offer is regarded as fair and reasonable by Princes of great importance and representing very varied circumstances. But other of the replies I have so far received have shown me that in the case of certain Princes there are aspects of the offer which they regard as open to exception. The extent to which, as my original letter of January 27th made clear, any modifica-

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tion is now practicable, is very limited indeed. For, as Your Highnesses will appreciate, our hands are closely tied. But you will find my department very ready to discuss the matters of concern to you in close detail ; and I shall always, I need not say, be ready to give my own close and sympathetic attention to any points which you may wish to bring to my notice.

Your Highnesses need no assurances from me of my anxiety to further the interests, and to meet the difficulties, of the Princely Order, consistently with the other obligations which fall upon me. I doubt if there is very much that I can profitably say to Your Highnesses of a general character to-day as regards the decision that falls to you. As I mentioned earlier, the decision is solely for yourselves to take ; and I do not know that there are any considerations likely to be of assistance to Your Highnesses in making up your minds that I can lay before you ; for you are already fully familiar with the field and with the arguments for and against Accession. There are one or two points that have always carried weight with me personally, in my judgment of the federal offer. Though I think you are familiar with them already, I might perhaps mention them again.

The first is the federal offer in relation to the full and future security of the States. The offer embodies the safeguards which His Majesty's Government regard as appropriate and sufficient for that purpose. The federation is one in which the Princely Order will carry a very substantial voice—125 seats, or one-third, in the Lower House, and 104 seats, or two-fifths, in the Upper House. This has always seemed to me to be a bloc which, if the Princely Order are wise, and hold together, no political party can possibly afford to ignore.

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Secondly, the situation which arises if the majority, in the terms of the Act, of the Princely Order elect to stand aside from the scheme of federation which has been offered to them by His Majesty's Government, and allow British India to develop on its own. It is not for me to say, or to predict, what lines political development may follow in British India. But, whatever may be the form and nature of such political development, it will be contrary to all the teachings of history to imagine that, on whatever basis, and in whatever form, it is not going to come ; while in particular the difficulty of conceiving the retention of the present so-called "irresponsible Centre" as at present constituted for any indefinite period, is, I am sure, as present to Your Highnesses as to other skilled observers of the political situation. To what extent the form of Government that may emerge from such developments as I have referred to is likely to be more, or less, satisfactory from the point of view of Princely India, remaining outside, is for Your Highnesses to judge. I have only been concerned to do what I can to secure that injury may not be done by the suggestion that the hopes of a federation of India, and of the welding of India into a single whole, based on the Act of 1935, have been prevented from fulfilment by the abstention of the Princely Order, leading members of which were directly responsible for the emergence of the ideal of a federation of India from the proceedings of the Round Table Conference.

Finally, since the anxiety of His Majesty's Government and the Crown Representative to defend and support the Princes in their Rights and privileges must always be great, I have asked myself whether the scheme of federation is the alternative that will best assist His Majesty's Government and the Crown Representative in that responsible task. The condition I have myself reached

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you know ; but that is merely my personal point of view ; and the decision on this point, as on the several points which have carried weight with me, and on the offer as a whole, must be the free untrammelled decision of the individual members of the Princely Order.

There is, however, one point which I ought in fairness to mention to Your Highnesses to-day, since it has been brought prominently to my notice. That is the suggestion that a Prince who rejects out of hand the federal offer will be exhibiting by his action his loyalty to the Crown. Nothing, Your Highnesses will agree with me, could be a more fantastic or a more improper suggestion. I would not have mentioned it to you to-day had it not been that in at any rate two replies which I have had from the Princes, I saw what I took to be a reference to it. The suggestion has equally been made to me that what have been described by at any rate one Ruler as "Imperial interests" were likely to suffer injury from the Federal scheme. Your Highnesses need no assurance from me that His Majesty's Government have all relevant considerations of that order before them to-day, as indeed they and Parliament, had in approving this scheme.

Let me finally say that, to those who have made up their minds that the scheme of federation is definitely unacceptable, there is nothing more to be said. The choice is theirs. To those who are inclined to believe that federation is the right solution, but who would like their existing objections to be, as far as practicable, removed, I would say this :

Many years have been spent in considering the idea of federation ; in protracted preliminary discussions ; in the preparation and passing of the Government of India Act ; in the elaboration of the Instruments of Accession, with

His Excellency the Viceroy's Message to India.*

its schedules and limitations ; and in the presentation of the offer to the States. The time for decision—a decision falling to be taken, in his own free judgment, by each individual Prince—is drawing to its conclusion. No one can reasonably expect that he will secure everything that he might at any moment wish in this world. British Indian criticism of the probable terms of the offer has already been vocal. It would be too much to hope that its volume will not increase once the terms of the offer are published. Nor is it to be expected, as I have mentioned already, that every detail of the offer will be entirely welcome to each individual Prince.

There is nothing more I think that I can say to Your Highnesses, save that now, as always, you can rely on my sympathy for your position ; and on my full appreciation of the responsibilities that weigh upon you ; and that you may be certain that so far as I can continue to be of assistance to Your Highnesses, or to any Member of the Princely Order, in dissipating misunderstandings, clearing up doubtful points, or investigating particular aspects of the many difficult questions that have confronted us in connection with the federal offer, all the help that I can give you through my officers is and will continue to be at your disposal.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S MESSAGE* TO
INDIA.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Message* to India, 3rd September 1939 :—

3rd September 1939.

You have all heard that early on Friday morning the German armed forces invaded Polish territory. The German Government presented no ultimatum. They

*Broadcast from Simla at 8-30 P.M., on Sunday the 3rd September 1939.

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gave the Polish Government warning. Their war planes are reported to be bombing open towns, and heavy casualties have already been inflicted among the civilian population.

It is clear beyond any question from what has happened that Poland has had to face the same threat that Szechoslovakia had to face a year ago. Confronted with the demand that she should accept the dictation of a foreign power in relation to her own territory and her own subjects, Poland has elected to stand firm. At this moment her troops are bravely defending the frontiers against the ruthless power that seeks to overwhelm her. His Majesty's Government, and the Government of France, have made it clear that they stand behind the former pledges against aggression which they had given to Poland. It is in these circumstances that we find ourselves at war with Germany today.

The issues that emerge are clear. Acceptance of the policy and the methods which Germany has adopted would make life in the world impossible. It would represent the triumph of aggression and the supermacy of the rule of force. In circumstances such as these there could be no security in the world, and no peace of mind for any of us. The ruthless onslaught of Germany on Poland, without a declaration of war, is in keeping with the rest of her conduct in this matter. What faces us today is the safeguarding of principles vital to the future of humanity, principles of international justice and international morality, the principle that civilised man must agree to settle disputes between nations by reason and not by force, the principle that in the affairs of men the law of the jungle, the will of the strongest, irrespective of right and justice, cannot be allowed to prevail. To fail to take up this challenge would be to destroy for mankind any hope of true progress and true development

His Excellency the Viceroy's Message to India.

So long as this cruel and ruthless thing is in the world, there can be no freedom of the spirit for humanity.

Nowhere do these great principles mean more than in India. There is no country that values them more highly than India, and none that has at all times been more concerned to safeguard them. His Majesty's Government in entering the war have done so with no selfish aim. They have done so to safeguard vital principles affecting all humanity ; to ensure the orderly progress of civilisation ; to see that disputes are settled between nations, not by the arbitrament of force, but by equitable and peaceful means. They have spared no effort to avoid the calamity that now threatens the world.

I do not propose to speak to you at length this evening. Far more important than anything that I can say to you must be the response of each one of you to this tremendous issue. With me, I am certain, you will feel that in the stern and testing days that lie before us, victory,—the triumph of the right—will not be secured by arms alone. We shall all of us have to depend upon those inner and spiritual forces which in all the great emergencies of life are the true and unfailing source of strength and fortitude.

In a cause such as this the whole-hearted sympathy and the support of all in this great country, whether in British India or in the Indian States, will, I am certain, be forthcoming without distinction of class, of creed, of race, or of political party. I am confident that on a day in which all that is most precious and most significant in the civilisation of the modern world stands in peril, India will make her contribution on the side of human freedom as against the rule of force, and will play a part worthy of her place among the great nations, and the historic civilisations of the world.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS TO THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE.

11th Septem-
ber 1939.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech when addressing the Members of both Houses of the Indian Legislature on 11th September 1939 :—

GENTLEMEN,—I have in the first place to read to you a Gracious Message to India from His Imperial Majesty, the King-Emperor which I have just received, and which I think can most appropriately first be announced in the presence of the Central Legislature—It is as follows :—

“ In these days, when the whole of civilisation is threatened, the widespread attachment of India to the cause in which we have taken up arms has been a source of deep satisfaction to Me. I also value most highly the many and generous offers of assistance made to Me by the Princes and people of India. I am confident that in the struggle upon which I and my peoples have now entered, we can count on sympathy and support from every quarter of the Indian Continent in the face of the common danger. Britain is fighting for no selfish ends but for the maintenance of a principle vital to the future of mankind --the principle that the relations between civilised States must be regulated, not by force, but by reason and law, so that men may live free from the terror of War, to pursue the happiness and the well-being which should be the destiny of mankind.” The message is signed by His Majesty's own hand.

We are all of us by now only too familiar with the circumstances in which Germany has attacked her neighbour State. We have seen, even in the week that has elapsed since the outbreak of the war, the spirit in which that war is likely to be waged by Germany's Rulers. We have seen the ruthless onslaught upon Poland without a declaration of war ; the sinking without warning of the liner “ *Athenia* ”, and the loss of life that has followed ;

H. E. the Viceroy's address to the Indian Legislature.

the complete and cynical disregard by the Rulers of the German people of those principles the establishment and the maintenance of which has been the general object of civilised mankind in past years. It is clear beyond any question in the present circumstances that, hateful as the idea of war may be to us, we, and the nations associated with us, are left with no alternative. There is no means of replying to the unprovoked and wanton onslaught that has been made on a peaceful country but by resorting ourselves to force. But, in resorting to force, we can at least do so with confidence as to the purity of our motives, and as to the unselfishness of the considerations which have led us to our decision.

I need not today enlarge on the importance of the issues. You are all of you familiar with them. But I would again emphasize the impossibility which confronts us in face of repeated breaches of faith, breaches of honourable understandings, over the past year and more, of trusting the word of the Rulers of the German people—a point which the Prime Minister forcibly brought out in his recent address to Germany. Nothing could be more damning than the plain recital of the facts. We have been assured time and again that Germany had no further territorial ambition in Europe, and that assurance has been repudiated on every occasion on which it has suited the Rulers of Germany to repudiate it. We have been assured that Germany would respect the Treaty of Locarno; that she had no designs on the former Czechoslovakia; that she was concerned only to restore to Germany the Sudeten fringes of Czechoslovakia, and had no designs on the true Czechoslovak centre of that country; that she did not aim at the incorporation in her territories of the citizens of any non-German nation or race; that she did not contemplate the annexation of Austria; that she had no designs on Poland, for many

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H. E. the Viceroy's address to the Indian Legislature.

years in the difficult post-war period a trusting friend bound to her by treaties of alliance. That long list does not exhaust the tale of German pledges, publicly given in the most binding and the most sacred fashion. No single one of those pledges has been honoured. Each one of them has been broken with entire disregard for those standards of truth and international morality on the basis of which alone the world can hold together, or hope to progress. And those breaches of faith have been not merely a breach of faith. They have represented a denial of justice ; a refusal to recognize any guiding principle save that of force ; a complete and cynical disregard for the principles that regulate the intercourse of nation with nation ; an anxiety to turn to the fullest advantage the absence of preparedness of those nations who had believed in the sanctity and in the sacredness of the undertakings given on behalf of a great nation by the Rulers of that nation.

Now that the decision is taken, now that it is clear that no course other than armed resistance will enable us, and the countries allied with us, to preserve the principles for which we fight, I would make only one appeal today. My appeal is one for unity. In the Message which I have just read His Imperial Majesty has told us of the deep satisfaction caused to him, by, in his own words, " the widespread attachment of India to the cause in which we have taken up arms ". Our task must be to vindicate the principles at stake, to work together in the closest unity for the furthering of our common object. Nothing could be more significant than the unanimity of approach of all in India—the Princes, the leaders of the great political parties, the ordinary man and woman ; or than the contributions, whether in offers of personal service, of men, of money, that have already reached me from the Princes and the people of India. There could be no more striking evidence of the depth of the appeal of the issues

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now before us. I am confident that however difficult may be the days that lie ahead of us (and the teaching of history shows us clearly the folly of assuming in a struggle of the magnitude of the present that victory will be easy, or that the course of the campaign, whatever it may be, will be unchequered) India will speak and act as one, and that her contribution will be worthy of her ancient name.

Gentlemen, in circumstances such as those in which we are met together today you will not expect me to deal with the matters of more ordinary interest which in the normal course would have figured in my address to the Central Legislature. I am certain that I shall be voicing the wishes of all of you if I confine my remarks today to the war and to the issues that directly concern or arise out of war. But I feel that it is only proper that I should express my own confidence that, whatever may be the tasks that, as the campaign develops, may fall to the lot of our Defence Forces, whether by sea, by land, or in the air, the response will be one worthy of those glorious traditions the fame and renown of which are world-wide. They are already, as you know, represented overseas, and our fighting forces can claim to be assisting, at the very outset of the war, in holding posts of vast and critical importance.

To the civil population of the country, and to the civil services, whether at the centre or in the provinces, I would say that past experience has shown the spirit in which we may anticipate their answer to the new call which is being made upon them, and to the new tasks which they have to undertake. These are anxious and difficult times, in which heavy burdens, personal as well as general, must necessarily weigh upon all of us whoever and wherever we may be. I am certain that those burdens will be sustained in a manner worthy of our past.

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Before I conclude my remarks to you today there are two matters, both of them arising out of the present situation, on which I would say a word. The first is the acceptance by His Majesty's Government and the Government of India of the conclusions of Lord Chatfield's Committee as expressed in the recently published Despatch. That decision marks an epoch in the history of Indian defence. The grave problems which confronted us in the matter of defence consequent on changes in the international situation and the development of modern armaments are now in a fair way to solution. They have been the constant concern of my advisers, and particularly of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, for many months past. The result of the deliberations which have taken place is, on a broad view, satisfactory in the highest degree. In particular I am glad to think not only that the improvements so essential at the present stage of the world's history should be so far advanced, but that, thanks to the most generous measure of help which has been extended to us, the necessity of laying heavy additional burdens on the Indian taxpayer has been avoided. The profound significance of the decisions that have been taken lies in the fact that India,—so largely an agricultural country, which could never, save at the cost of a complete disregard of other calls, have hoped to make available the vast sums of money necessary for re-equipment and modernization,—has, thanks to the gift which she has received from His Majesty's Government, been placed in the same position in relation to the modernization of her army as the great industrial nations of the world.

I will add only one word more, in regard to our federal preparations. Those preparations, as you are aware, are well advanced, and great labour has been lavished on them in the last three years. Federation remains as before the objective of His Majesty's Government ; but

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Annual Speech Day
of Bishop Cotton School.*

you will understand, Gentlemen, without any elaborate exposition on my part, the compulsion of the present international situation, and the fact that, given the necessity for concentrating on the emergency that confronts us, we have no choice but to hold in suspense the work in connection with preparations for federation, while retaining federation as our objective.

Had we met in more normal times, there would have been many other matters to mention to you today,—the position of Indians overseas; the various developments of interest and importance which are under consideration in civil administration; the working of provincial autonomy and of the reformed constitution. But, as I have already suggested, I feel certain that at a time when the struggle which is raging elsewhere is uppermost in our thoughts, this is a moment in which that emergency, and matters directly associated with that emergency, must be of predominant and, in a sense, of almost exclusive importance. Our trust must be that, under Providence, the forces of right and of justice will triumph, and that we may be able to take up again those interrupted activities on which we have been engaged for the furtherance of the constructive work of peace, and of the progress and the prosperity of India.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
ANNUAL SPEECH DAY OF BISHOP COTTON
SCHOOL.**

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Annual Speech Day of Bishop Cotton School on the 16th September 1939 :—

16th September 1939.

*Your Excellency, My Lord Bishop, Mr. Sinker, Ladies and Gentlemen,—*I have listened with interest and

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Annual Speech Day
of Bishop Cotton School.*

satisfaction to the account which the Head Master has just given us of the work of the School during the past year and its condition today. Bishop Cotton School has an important part to play in India and a great reputation to maintain. The best of which the School is capable will be achieved only if there is full co-operation amongst the members of the staff, and between the staff and the boys. I believe that that co-operation and that unity exist in marked degree in the School. I trust you will all do your utmost to perpetuate and to strengthen these invaluable qualities.

I propose now to say a word or two to you boys. We meet at a time of great anxiety for all of us, at a time, alas ! when violence has been let loose over wide regions of the world ; when anger and fear, pain and sorrow, distort the minds and oppress the spirit of a large part of mankind ; and when passion and prejudice too often hold sway where justice and reason have their rightful place. I think the youngest among you will understand the sadness with which those of us who remember and took part in the Great War face this new and formidable outbreak. Perhaps I may even be able to convey to you how it comes about, particularly in times like these, that no one of us older folk can attend a School ceremony such as this without finding ourselves at once deeply moved and greatly heartened. We tried so hard between 1914 and 1918 to secure for our own children and for you a better world in which war might find no place. Immense sacrifices were made to that end. But we have to acknowledge failure. Now we must try again. We will do our best. But whatever comes, we know, and it is well that you yourselves—young though you are—should realise it,—we know that it is upon you that we have in the end to count. For the future is with you, and without you our efforts cannot succeed. We and

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you are like runners in a relay race. We try our hardest so long as it is our turn to run the race ; but the time soon comes when our lap is run and when we must hand over the baton to you. You are our partners and our hope. From you we take new courage ; for we have faith in you that you will not fail us.

I do not wish to suggest that you should dwell unduly upon the horrors of war, or upon the anxieties and uncertainties of the times. It would be neither natural nor wholesome that at your age you should. The best and truest contribution that you can make is to be, each one of you while you are here and after you leave this place, true to the best traditions of Bishop Cotton School. Do your utmost at work and play ! Enjoy yourselves ! And when you stumble, as from time to time all we mortals must, and fall short of the standards you have set yourself, why pick yourself up and have another try. It is by effort and by trials that hearts are made stout. Your contribution, your job in this difficult hour is to be growing up to be good men and true, who will be found, in due time, ready to play a worthy part in life.

STATEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY.

Statement by His Excellency the Viceroy, issued on 18th October 1939. 18th Octob
1939.

Since the outbreak of war and more particularly during the last four weeks I have been in the closest touch with the leaders of political opinion in British India and with representatives of the Princely Order ; and I have spared no effort to acquaint myself by personal discussion with the trend of feeling ; to ascertain the views of the different sections of public opinion in this country on the great questions of the day, and in particular on this question of the basis on which, and the extent to which, India could best co-operate in the prosecution of the war ; and to satisfy

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myself as to the extent to which a basis of common agreement exists, and as to the manner in which the position, so far as it may still remain obscure, can best be clarified. Matters have now reached a point at which, in my judgment, it would be well that I should make a statement designed, in the light of the discussions which I have had during these past few weeks, to clear the position on the main questions which emerge at the present moment. I would make a preliminary observation. I have had the advantage of a full and frank discussion with no fewer than 52 people—with Mr. Gandhi, with the President and Members of the Congress Working Committee, with Mr. Jinnah and with representative Members of the Muslim League Organization, with the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, and with a great variety of persons prominent in the political life of British India.

As was only to be expected, conversations with representatives of so many different points of view revealed marked differences of outlook, markedly different demands, and markedly different solutions for the problems that lie before us. Again, and that too was what might have been expected at a time such as the present, reservations or demands for special protection on one side have tended to be balanced by proposals for still more marked constitutional changes on another. I would ask that these differences of view, deeply and sincerely held, I have not the least doubt, by those who have advanced them to me, should be borne in mind when we consider our present problems, for they have a very direct and obvious relevance to them.

I trust most earnestly that I shall be able to dispel certain misapprehensions which are, I am clear, widely and genuinely held, and that, even if to a degree more limited than has been urged upon me from many quarters, I may be able to clarify the position as regards our hopes and our objectives for India, and to make some little contribution

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to the removal of the obstacles which existing doubts on that point have caused to that full, generous, and ready co-operation which it is I am certain her anxiety and that of her peoples to give today to a good cause.

The essential matters on which a clarification of the position is beyond any question desired are—

First, What are the objectives of His Majesty's Government in the war? To what extent are they of such a character that India with her long history and great traditions can, with a clear conscience, associate herself with them?

Second, What is the future that is contemplated in the constitutional sphere for the Indian Continent? What are the intentions of His Majesty's Government? Is it possible to define those intentions more precisely and in such a manner as to leave the world in no doubt as to the ultimate status envisaged for India as far as the British Commonwealth is concerned?

Third, In what way can the desire of India and of Indian public opinion for a closer association, and an effective association, with the prosecution of the war best be satisfied?

Let me deal with these questions in the order in which I have stated them. Let me in the first place consider to what extent in existing conditions and at this stage in the development of the campaign in which we are engaged any positive and satisfactory answer admits of being given to the demand for a more precise definition of our objectives. In endeavouring to answer that question I do not propose to touch on the question of our objectives for India. That is a matter which I will deal with separately in answering the second question which I have mentioned above. His Majesty's Government have not themselves yet defined with any ultimate precision their detailed objectives

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against the arrangements embodied in Part II of the Act. I will say today no more than that, having myself had so close a familiarity not only with the framing of the provisions, but with the preliminary work which has been done with a view to putting them into force, I have throughout believed that the federal scheme in its operation would have turned out as satisfactorily as, broadly speaking, we can all of us regard the scheme of Provincial Autonomy as having turned out. I will not dilate on that subject today, for our work in connection with the federal scheme has been suspended. But in reaffirming as I do my belief in the essential soundness of the federal aspects of the Act of 1935, I do so with the greater emphasis because of the evidence which the federal provisions of the Act constitute of the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to achieve, with the minimum of delay, and on the basis which appears to represent the greatest amount of agreement between the various parties and interests affected, the unity of India, and to advance beyond a further and a most important milestone on the road to India's goal.

Such being the background against which we are working, what are the intentions and aims of His Majesty's Government in relation to India? I cannot do better in reply to that question than to refer to the statement made on behalf of His Majesty's Government, and with their full authority, by the late Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on the 6th February 1935. That statement makes the position clear beyond a shadow of doubt. It refers to the pledge given in the Preamble of the Act of 1919, and it makes it clear that it was no part of the plan of His Majesty's Government to repeal that pledge. It confirms equally the interpretation placed in 1929 by Lord Irwin, as Viceroy, again on the authority of the Government of the day, on that Preamble, that "the natural issue of India's progress as there contemplated is the attainment

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of Dominion Status''. I need not dilate on the words of that statement. They are clear and positive. They are enshrined in the parliamentary record. They stand as a definite and categorical exposition of the policy of His Majesty's Government today, and of their intentions today in this end, the future constitutional development and position of India. I would add only that the Instrument of Instructions issued to me as Governor-General by His Majesty the King-Emperor in May 1937 lays upon me as Governor-General a direction so to exercise the trust which His Majesty has reposed in me "that the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within our Empire may be furthered to the end that India may attain its due place among our Dominions''.

That is the policy and that is the position. Those are the intentions of His Majesty's Government. Let me go on to say another word about the Act of 1935. That Act was based on the greatest measure of common agreement which it was possible to obtain at the time when it was framed. It was based, as is well known to all of us, on the common labours of British and Indian statesmen, and of representatives of British India as well as of the Indian States over a long period of years. All parties were at one stage or other closely associated with those deliberations. And I can speak from personal experience when I bear tribute to the extreme anxiety of all those of us on whom, in the Joint Select Committee, there fell the more particular responsibility for devising proposals for the consideration of Parliament, to ensure that the fullest account had been taken of all interests ; of the views of all political parties ; and that nothing had been left undone to ensure that the outcome of our labours reflected the greatest measure of agreement practicable in the conditions that confronted us.

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Be that as it may, His Majesty's Government recognise that when the time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future federal Government of India, and of the plan destined to give effect to the assurances given in Parliament by the late Secretary of State, to which I have just referred, it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remain appropriate. And I am authorised now by His Majesty's Government to say that at the end of the war they will be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties, and interests, in India, and with the Indian Princes, with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable.

I have I trust, in what I have just said, made clear that the intention and the anxiety of His Majesty's Government is, as stated in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General, to further the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within the Empire to the end that India may attain her due place among the great Dominions. The scheme of Government embodied in the Act of 1935 was designed as an essential stage in that process. But I have made clear in what I have just said that His Majesty's Government will, at the end of the war, be prepared to regard the scheme of the Act as open to modification in the light of Indian views. And I would make it clear, too, that it will be their object, as at all times in the past it has been, to spare no pains to further agreement by any means in their power in the hope of contributing to the ordered and harmonious progress of India towards her goal. Let me in that connection add that in the conversations I have had, representatives of the minorities have urged most strongly on me the necessity of a clear assurance that full weight would be given to their views.

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and to their interests in any modifications that may be contemplated. On that I need say no more than that, over more than a decade, at the three Round Table Conferences, and at the Joint Select Committee, His Majesty's Government consulted with and had the assistance of the advice of representatives of all parties and all interests in this country. It is unthinkable that we should now proceed to plan afresh, or to modify in any respect, any important part of India's future Constitution without again taking counsel with those who have in the recent past been so closely associated in a like task with His Majesty's Government and with Parliament.

That some even more extensive scheme than I have mentioned, some even more widely phrased indication of the intentions of His Majesty's Government, is desired in certain quarters in this country, I am fully aware from the conversations I have had during these last few weeks. That that is a desire held with sincerity, and that those who hold it are convinced that it is in the manner in question that the future progress and development of India and the expressed intentions of His Majesty's Government can best be fulfilled, I fully and readily accept. I would utter one word only of caution. And if I say that the situation must be faced in terms of world politics and of political realities in this country, I do so from no lack of sympathy, and no lack of appreciation of the motives that weigh with the people of India and the ideals that appeal to them. But I would urge that it is essential in matters of this nature, affecting the future of tens of millions of people, affecting the relations of the great communities, affecting the Princes of India, affecting the immense commercial and industrial enterprises, whether Indian or European in this country, that the largest measure of agreement practicable should be achieved. With the best will in the world, progress must be conditioned by practical considerations. I am convinced

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myself, if I may say so with the utmost emphasis, that, having regard to the extent of agreement which in fact exists in the constitutional field, and on this most difficult and important question of the nature of the arrangements to be made for expediting and facilitating the attainment by India of her full status, there is nothing to be gained by phrases which, widely and generally expressed, contemplate a state of things which is unlikely to stand at the present point of political development the test of practical application, or to result in that unified effort by all parties and all communities in India on the basis of which alone India can hope to go forward as one and to occupy the place to which her history and her destinies entitle her. I would ask that these words of caution be not taken as indicating any lack of sympathy on the part of His Majesty's Government for the aspirations of India, or any indifference to the pace of her advance : and I would repeat that His Majesty's Government are but concerned to use their best endeavours, now as in the past, to bring about that measure of agreement and understanding between all parties and all interests in this country which is so essential a condition of progress towards India's goal.

I turn now to the arrangements to be made to secure the association of public opinion in India with the conduct of the war. India's contribution has already been great, great to a degree which has impressed the imagination of the world. At the head of the list I would put the contribution which India has made in spiritual, and not in material, terms,—the support of her peoples for a cause which they can regard as a good and a righteous cause. In the material field equally her contribution is already most significant, and may be greater still. And in the circumstances the desire, the anxiety, of public opinion in India to be associated with the conduct of the war is naturally one with which I personally have throughout felt

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the greatest sympathy. In the circumstances I have described, the desirability of steps to ensure that leaders of public opinion should be in the closest touch with developments is of the first importance.

I have discussed with the utmost frankness with the leaders of the various parties who have been good enough to come to see me in connection with the constitutional position, by what machinery we could best give effect to this desire. We have examined a variety of expedients, and there has been no hesitation on the part of any of us in assessing the advantages and the disadvantages presented by each of them. I do not propose today to examine those various alternatives in particular detail. I will only say that in the light of my conversations and of the views (by no means always in accord) of representatives of the great parties and of the Princes I am of opinion that the right solution would be the establishment of a consultative group, representative of all major political parties in British India and of the Indian Princes, over which the Governor-General would himself preside, which would be summoned at his invitation, and which would have as its object the association of public opinion in India with the conduct of the war and with questions relating to war activities.

This group, for practical reasons, would inevitably be limited in size. But His Majesty's Government contemplate that it should be fully representative, and in particular that its personnel should be drawn by the Governor-General from panels prepared by the various major political parties, from which a selection of individuals to attend meetings of the group would be made by the Governor-General. I hope in the very near future to enter into consultation with political leaders and with the Princes on this question. I have no doubt whatever that an arrangement of this nature will most materially contribute to associating the Indian States and British India with the

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steps which are being taken for the prosecution of the war and with the arrangements that are being made in that connection : and I am confident, too, that in an association of this nature of representatives of all parties and all interests there lies the germ of that fuller and broader association of all points of view in this country which contain in it the seeds of such advantage for the future of India as a whole.

When I spoke to the Central Legislature a month ago, I made an appeal for unity. I would repeat that appeal today. It is my earnest hope that the explanations I have given will have contributed materially to the removal of misunderstandings. Even if on certain points I have not, to my knowledge, been able to give assurances so comprehensive as those which would I know have been welcomed in certain political quarters in India, I would urge insistently that this is not a moment at which to risk the splitting of the unity of India on the rock of particular phrases, and I would press that we should continue to aim at the unity of India even if differences of greater or less significance continue to exist. We live in difficult and anxious days. Great ideals are in issue. Dangers real and imminent face our civilization. Those dangers are as real and as imminent in the case of India as of any other member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Those ideals are as precious to India as to any country in the Empire or in the world. At this grave moment in the destinies of nations, my prayer to all parties would be not to dissociate themselves from the common effort, but to lend their co-operation and their assistance in the prosecution of the war. There could be no more decisive proof of India's fidelity to her best traditions than the full use of the opportunities afforded to her by the war of concerted endeavour. The ideals we have set before us, the objects to secure which we are engaged in the present struggle, are

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such as to command widespread sympathy and widespread support in India. They are in harmony with her past history and her highest traditions. It is my hope that in the grave juncture which we face India will go forward as a united country in support of a common cause.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S MESSAGE TO INDIA.

The following message was broadcast by H. E. the 5th November 1939.
Viceroy on Sunday, the 5th November 1939 :—

It is with profound regret that I have to announce that the conversations which at my instance had been inaugurated between the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League have so far not achieved what I had hoped. The country is entitled to know in a matter of such moment and at a time of such gravity what the nature was of the proposition which I invited my friends in those two organizations to consider. I shall tomorrow publish correspondence which will make the position perfectly clear. Let me only say that my object has been in these discussions to bring together the leaders of the great parties and to endeavour to secure, as a result of personal contact between them, and with what personal assistance I could myself give, that measure of agreement in the Provinces which in their view would enable them to put forward proposals for constructive advance at the Centre for the period of the war such as would be represented by some expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council and by the inclusion in it of political leaders.

My Declaration of 18th October contemplated a consultative group. It offered an arrangement relatively so limited as that group only because of the marked divergences of view between the great communities, divergences the existence of which held out no hope of harmonious working at the Centre on the basis of joint membership of

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my Executive Council at a time when harmonious working was of the first importance. Nevertheless, I am persuaded that that group holds great possibilities for the future ; possibilities, I feel sure, greater than are commonly realised.

It is, I need not say, a profound disappointment to me after so much endeavour on the part of His Majesty's Government, on the part of those leaders with whom I have conferred, and of their friends, as well as on my own part, that we have no more to show, and that in so many Provinces we should be left with no choice but to use the emergency provisions inserted for that purpose in the Government of India Act. As for those provisions let me emphasize that they are an expedient, not a sanction. My own strong feeling in regard to their use I cannot better convey than by a paraphrase of the quotation that appears in Arabic characters upon the great Gateway at Fatehpur Sikri. That quotation says :

“ Life is a bridge, a bridge that you shall pass over ;
You shall not build your house upon it.”

Nor in the wider field do I propose to take this disappointment as final, or to abandon the efforts I am making to bring about the friendly adjustment of differences in this country to the end that we can continue to co-operate over the achievement of our common objectives. Differences and difficulties such as those which now threaten to retard—even to reverse—the course of constitutional development in India and the earliest attainment of the common goal, will not disappear spontaneously, nor will they be conjured away by any refusal to recognise their existence. They will be resolved only by negotiations carried out in a spirit of mutual accommodation and trust and with a firm resolve to succeed.

I will say no more than that tonight. But I would ask for patience and for the goodwill of the Indian people, and

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of the great political organizations, whether of the members of those organizations or their leaders, in the efforts I propose to continue to make. The difficulties are great. How great they are has been most clearly revealed by the events of the last six weeks. But the attempt to reconcile them is one which it is imperative to make and in which, whether I fail or I succeed, I shall spare no effort to bring about the result which is I know at the heart of all of those who care for India and for her future.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF HIS LATE MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.

H. E. the Viceroy made the following speech on the occasion <sup>14th Novem-
ber 1939.</sup> of the Unveiling of the Statue of His late Majesty King George V, on Tuesday, the 14th November 1939 at New Delhi :—

Your Excellency, Your Highnesses, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have assembled today to honour the memory of a man who was our King and Emperor for twenty-five years. That quarter of a century was not only a generation in our lives, it was an era crowded with great events, and great issues, with great suffering and great joy, with perils and with the triumph of perils overcome.

During the reign of His late Majesty, that most ancient of our institutions the Throne, gaining immeasurably in power and prestige, was proved as never before to be not only the head and heart of a great democratic constitution but also the keystone of the living arch of the Empire. During his reign that Empire passed through its constitutional adolescence, and India advanced by two great stages towards her destined goal of full and equal partnership with the Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

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But the great office which His late Imperial Majesty filled was more than a constitutional symbol, and more than an abstract expression of the unity of the Empire. It was to a Throne enriched by the personality of a good and wise man that all people instinctively turned in time of danger and of rejoicing, as to the human and visible focus of their emotions.

To a high conception of private duty and public service, King George V added the virtues of patience and impartiality, of industry and of courage, of the wisdom which is born of ripe experience and sound commonsense. Such a combination of qualities, precious enough in any man, were of incomparable value in a King. His personal knowledge of and interest in all the peoples of his Empire were unrivalled, and his people, in their turn, were drawn to him by this conscious bond of sympathy, and by the recognition in him of homely tastes and standards which they could share. The King was everybody's King. More particularly can we who are gathered here be sensible of this personal relationship with the Sovereign, who, 28 years ago, announced his decision to restore Delhi to its ancient birthright and who laid the first stones of his Imperial Capital.

The Memorial which I am about to unveil represents the tribute paid to a beloved Sovereign by his people in India. To its construction rich and poor, princes and peasants alike, contributed according to their means. Its dignity and beauty worthily enshrine their homage and their love. It is in the fitness of things, too, that this Memorial to His late Majesty King George V should stand near that other Memorial raised to the glory of brave men, who, in a spirit of service and unwavering devotion which matched his own, answered his call and gave their lives for their country. Beyond that Archway, our late

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King-Emperor's Statue will look for ever towards the columns and the domes of the Capital which is so peculiarly his own, with the founding of which he associated his hopes for the unity, prosperity, and happiness of the people of his Indian Empire.

Once in his lifetime and in ours the foundations of the civilised world were shaken. In the task of rebuilding and strengthening those foundations his share was not a small one. Now that the test has come again, it is heartening to recall the exhortation which the King-Emperor who led us to victory through the dark days of the last Great War, addressed to his people a few days before he died :

"United by the bonds of willing service," he said, "let us prove ourselves both strong to endure, and resolute to overcome". And, with God's help, so we will.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT A
BANQUET AT REWA.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at 12th December
the Banquet at Rewa on Tuesday, the 12th December 1939 :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I must first thank Your Highness on behalf of my wife and myself, not only for the very kind terms in which you have just now proposed our healths but also for the warmth of the hospitality which Your Highness has extended to us during these last three days in the delightful surroundings of your State, and for the great care which has been lavished by Your Highness and by Your Highness' subjects in providing us with so much excellent sport and entertainment. I deeply appreciate Your Highness' reference to the lamented death of Her Royal Highness Princess Louise, and I will not fail to convey your message of sympathy to His Majesty the King Emperor.

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I have long been looking forward to this visit, and my appetite had perhaps been given a keener edge by the fact that I have once before tasted the hospitality of Your Highness' State when I was out here 12 years ago as Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and spent some pleasant days shooting near Umaria.

There is no need for me to add to what Your Highness has said on that subject which, in these days, touches us all so closely—the war. If I may say so, Your Highness has admirably expressed that sense of confidence in the outcome of this tragic conflict, in words which will find an echo in the hearts of all loyal men. Our cause is just and it will prevail.

It is heartening to remember at such a time the traditional loyalty of the Princely Houses of India, and more particularly the splendid traditions of the Rewa House. Your Highness' forbears have proved themselves again and again to be staunch allies and trusted friends, in illustration of which it is fitting to recall how in 1914 Your Highness' father sent a memorable telegram to enquire what were the orders of the King-Emperor for himself and for his army. These traditions are being worthily upheld by Your Highness today. I have been much gratified to learn of the satisfactory progress recently made in the training of the Rewa State Forces and in particular of the high standard of efficiency reached by the Rewa Transport Corps, which is now ready for mobilization. For this state of affairs Your Highness, ably assisted by your Chief of the State General Staff, is responsible, and I know from what I have seen that the loyal assurances which we have heard tonight are ready to be translated into vigorous and effective action as soon as the necessity may arise.

Your Highness was kind enough to refer in appreciative terms to what I have endeavoured to do for the development of improved methods of agriculture and stock

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breeding in this country. My interest in these matters is indeed profound, and I am aware that, although there are in Rewa very considerable industrial resources, both developed and undeveloped, it is agriculture which has always been and must always be the mainstay of this State. I am therefore confident that Your Highness and your advisers will always be prepared, so far as local resources may permit, to afford to the agriculturists of the State opportunities to benefit by the new methods and schemes which have been evolved by the Central organization set up for this purpose.

But, for the agriculturist improved methods of production are not the whole story. No less important is the existence of adequate means of communication and transport for the conveyance of his produce to the most profitable markets, and I listened with close attention to what Your Highness had to say on this subject. In a State of the size of Rewa, with its 13,000 square miles of territory which is still, as Your Highness has pointed out, ill-served by railways, the development of roads is a matter of vital importance, and I congratulate Your Highness for the keen interest which you have consistently taken in this problem and for the very large measure of success which has already attended your efforts. I am very glad to hear that the Central Road Fund was able to assist these efforts materially and that the money which was available from that source has been spent to the best possible advantage. I trust that Your Highness' ambition to see a new railway built through this State may not be too long delayed. There are undoubtedly difficulties to be overcome, and Your Highness has mentioned one of the greatest of these, —the present exigencies of the war. But I fully realise the importance of this matter, and I am interested to learn from Your Highness that a project is actually under consideration and that some surveys have been carried out.

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I will gladly repeat the assurance which was given to Your Highness by my predecessor, Lord Willingdon, that any project of this nature which may be presented to my Government in a final form will be most carefully and sympathetically considered.

Lady Linlithgow has asked me to thank Your Highness for the very kind references you have made to her and to her work in India. We are delighted to learn that, as a result of the Anti-Tuberculosis Appeal, a sum of, over Rs. 29,000 is now available for fighting this scourge in Rewa. The question of how this sum can best be utilised is, I know, under the immediate consideration of Your Highness, and my wife and I will be interested to learn in due course the form which Your Highness' decision will take. We sincerely hope that it will be to the lasting benefit of the people of Rewa.

Before I conclude, I should like to take this opportunity of complimenting Your Highness, if I may, on the energy and ability which you have applied to the administration of your State. In these days, an ever-increasing interest is being taken by the world at large in the affairs of Indian States. I am confident that Your Highness is well aware how important it is, in these circumstances, that Rulers should not only devote themselves to the redress of any legitimate grievances that may be brought to their notice, but should be ready to prove that any undeserved criticisms are not founded on facts.

Finally, for your cordial welcome to us and for your generous hospitality, let me thank Your Highness once more, on behalf of all your guests ; and perhaps I may be permitted to reply on behalf of individuals among them in particular to thank you for the good wishes you have extended to my daughter and to her husband, and for the well-merited compliments which Your Highness has paid to my Political Adviser, Sir Bertrand Glancy.

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Ladies and Gentlemen, we shall all carry away with us the happiest memories of our delightful visit to Rewa, and I will now ask you to join me in drinking to the prosperity and happiness of this State and of its Ruler. I give you the toast of His Highness Maharajadhiraja Sir Gulab Singh Bahadur.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
OPENING OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
ASSOCIATED CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF INDIA,
CALCUTTA.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Opening of the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chamber of Commerce of India, Calcutta, on Monday, the 18th December 1939 :—

Your Excellency. Mr. President, and Gentlemen,—I am very glad again to be present at the opening meeting of the annual gathering of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India, and I thank you warmly, gentlemen, for the honour which you have done me in inviting me to be present today.

Much has happened since we met a year ago. When I then addressed you I ventured to suggest that our Indian political problems would have to be seen against the background of world politics. I remarked that that background was more sombre by far in 1938 than it had been in 1935 ; and I referred to the darkening of the sky, and the increasing emphasis of totalitarian ideologies in their relation to the position of India.

Dark as the background seemed to be a year ago, grave as were the perils that then confronted civilization, we all of us I think entertained some little hope that the constant and persistent efforts of His Majesty's Govern-

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ment might achieve their object, and that we might avoid a crisis such as to threaten the foundations of civilization and to set back for years—it may be for generations to come—that orderly progress, whether in the constitutional or in the material sphere, that improvement in the standards of living, which represented the culmination of years of effort, and which was of such vast importance not only to nations great and small, but to the ordinary man and woman throughout the world. Those hopes have been shattered. The efforts that we made, the risks of misunderstanding that we ran, the sacrifices made by His Majesty's Government, have been in vain. But though they have failed to avert this great disaster, they have brought out with a clarity which could not otherwise have been the case, the necessity of our engaging in this war, the issues for which we are fighting, and their vital importance to the peoples not only of the allied countries but of every country in the world.

We find ourselves today at one of those points in history at which a challenge has been thrown down and taken up, and at which the whole setting and background of our lives are changed abruptly in a moment. In the international field, the issues raised are world-wide. The objectives which we seek to secure are of an importance far transcending the position of any one nation or any one people. The reactions of this war, whatever its outcome, on every country in the world will be profound. Even if they may be less significant in the case of some countries than of others, in the case of India, which is that of the most immediate concern to all of us here today, there can be no question that for good or for bad they will be decisive. The fate of India in the international sphere turns on the success of the allied arms.

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But in the case of India the war has come upon us at a point of, alas, the utmost delicacy and of the most critical character in her own internal development. When I spoke to you here a year ago I affirmed not for the first time my own sense of the vital necessity for achieving and maintaining the unity of India. I emphasized further the increased importance of that objective in the threatening conditions of the international situation. I reaffirmed my belief that the scheme of federation embodied in the Act of 1935, following on Provincial Autonomy, represented the best contribution that we could make in present circumstances to the achievement of that unity, and I stressed the argument for early federation.

The outbreak of the war, with the strain which it placed on the machine, the uncertainty as to the character which hostilities were likely to take, and the desirability of avoiding internal controversy, left us with no choice, on the best judgment of the future that could then be formed, but to hold in suspense our preparations for federation. I regret the more that that should have had to have been the case when I look today on the problems that confront us, problems which if possible tend to grow in difficulty from day to day if justice is to be done to all concerned. Had that ideal been achieved we should have had the solution of those issues which attract such public attention at this time—the unity of India, the collaboration for a common purpose of British India and the Indian States, the representation in a legislature elected on a democratic basis of all communities and of all interests, the presence in the Central government of the country of representatives of the Indian Princes, and of the great political parties of British India. Federation was the

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stepping stone to the realisation of that further ideal of Dominion Status for India which His Majesty's Government have always had before them, but which cannot be achieved in a moment, or without those preparatory processes essential if problems of even greater difficulty are to be avoided at a later stage.

Be that as it may, the situation that confronts us today is one that we must deal with as we find it : and on that situation the impact of the war has been profound. From the beginning there has been no question as to the attitude of public opinion in India, whether in British India or in the Indian States, towards our objectives in fighting this war—the destruction of Hitlerism, the restoration of standards of fair dealing and of morality between nations, the re-establishment of the sanctity of the pledged word, of treaties between great peoples—all those have, from the beginning, had the wholehearted support of public opinion in every party and in every community in this country. I had hoped when the war began that in the support of ideals then, and now, so universally accepted, in the resolution of a situation so menacing to India's constitutional development and to the retention by her of her present liberties, we should have had the support of a united country. It is a source of deep regret to me that we have so far failed to secure that unity.

Despite every effort by His Majesty's Government to resolve doubts as to their intentions for the future constitutional development of India, to make clear their own objectives in the war, to dispel the thought that what is called Imperialism was the dominating motive of our efforts, to bring out the unselfish nature of our aims, difficulties remain unresolved, and the resignation of the

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Congress Governments has made it necessary in seven out of eleven provinces to resort to the emergency provisions of the Act of 1935.

I regret that all the more because, though there may be weaknesses here and there, yet, as you, Sir, have truly remarked in your speech today, experience over yet another year has confirmed the essential soundness of the provincial portion of the Act of 1935. To confine myself to major provinces, I need only cite the instances of Bengal and the Punjab, widely differing in their circumstances, both presenting problems of their own, to bring out that fact, and to illustrate the skill and competence with which in those two great provinces responsible Ministers have handled and are handling issues of the utmost delicacy and complexity. I need not add that I share your satisfaction in these circumstances that in the Province of Assam, the normal functioning of parliamentary institutions should, despite the resignation of the late Ministry, have continued possible.

But there are times when silence about constitutional developments is better than speech, and in my judgment this is one of them. Beyond therefore making the general observations which I have already made I do not propose today to touch in any detail on the political issue before us. I may however be allowed to add how profoundly anxious I remain to see a solution of those difficulties. I have spared no personal effort to ascertain what is in the mind of the leaders of all parties and communities, and to identify those claims of which account must be taken in any workable scheme for the future. I have done my best so far as in me lay to bring parties and communities together. I have not been successful so far. I would repeat that I do not propose to despair, though the need

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for harmonizing varying points of view and the fact that no scheme for the future can be successful that does not harmonize those different points of view becomes ever more apparent. We are at a moment when all parties are, as is clear to you from the public press, considering their position. My prayer is that there may be a readiness on the part of all parties and of all communities to face the realities of the situation ; to recognize how grave is the crisis which we face in the international sphere from the point of view of India, and to come together on a basis that would admit of harmonious co-operation and harmonious progress.

In any efforts in that sense that may be made by whatever party, whatever community, my own goodwill for what that is worth, and the goodwill of His Majesty's Government will at all times be forthcoming ; and I repeat that, as I have already made clear, I am ready, and His Majesty's Government are ready, to spare no effort. The difficulties are great—it would be shortsighted and dishonest of us to minimise them. They will not be easily overcome. But the importance of overcoming them from the point of view of India itself has never been greater than it is today. The reaching of an accommodation between the parties and interests concerned may well take time. Far more may be lost than gained by endeavouring to secure that discussions between communities, or parties, or interests shall proceed with precipitate haste. But when I say that, it is not owing to a lack of realisation on my part of the desirability as soon as possible of finding ourselves again operating the normal rather than the emergency provisions of the constitution, or from any reluctance or lack of readiness on my part to lend every

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help I can to a friendly and honourable settlement of the problems before us today.

Passing from this immediate broad political issue, I would like to say how deeply I appreciate the readiness of the European community, as you, Sir, mentioned in your speech today, to co-operate to the very best of its ability in the legislative sphere, to assist by constructive criticism in the development of the constitutional scheme of the Act of 1935 (your reaffirmation of your support for which I so greatly appreciate), and, in your own words, to help to achieve a permanent solution of the present Indo-British problem. The sincerity and the value of the contribution which the European community in this country has made in these last few years cannot be overestimated ; and there are no words in which I can speak too highly of it.

At a time such as this, Mr. President, as your speech rightly recognizes, the problems that absorb our attention, apart from the vital problem of the war itself, are inevitably those that arise out of the war. I have touched on the most important of them—the Indian political problem. In the remainder of my remarks today I propose to address myself to certain matters which arise largely from the war and to which you have referred in your address.

Let me in the first place mention your reference to the contribution which India can make to the prosecution of the war, and to the share which this Association and all those whom it represents have taken in it. India is justly proud of the contribution she made to the successful issue of the last war, and I am confident that, in the present conflict, she is as well able as she is willing to make a contribution which may be different in kind, which can at

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need be even greater in degree, to the successful outcome of our efforts and to the achievement of our objectives.

I am glad to say that the activities of the Department of Supply have resulted in large orders for Indian manufactured goods being received in this country, and there are two features about these orders to which perhaps it is worth while to invite special attention. Except in the case of jute goods and field dressings, the demands received from overseas are mainly from those who do not normally buy in the Indian market. Secondly, in some cases India is being invited to supply articles which she has not previously manufactured, and she has been able to rise to the occasion and to fulfil the order. Both these circumstances augur well for the possibility of India's being able to make a permanent extension of her markets in certain directions when the present direct stimulus owing to war conditions is over. I need not remind you in that connection of the large number of existing Indian industries which owe their present position to the encouragement afforded by the last war.

Up to date, India's largest supplies have been jute manufactures, for which overseas orders to the value of nearly 11 crores have been placed in the first 13 weeks of the war. They include 713 million sandbags (this is exclusive of 200 million ordered for A. R. P. just before the war) and 40 million yards of hessian cloth. I may say that towards the end of the last war 100 million sandbags was mentioned as an order which India could at need supply : at the beginning of the present war she is able to exceed this total monthly. Orders have also been placed for 3½ million yards of khaki drill cloth and 2 million yards of other cotton cloth valued at over 23 lakhs. For woollen cloth and blankets (contracts for the

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supply of $\frac{1}{4}$ million* of which have already been placed), orders from overseas have been received which have justified not only the taking over for Government purposes of the whole production of the woollen mills in India, but the conversion of many cotton looms to woollen, and the stimulation of the handloom industry. Active steps have been taken to bring to the notice of His Majesty's Government and other overseas Governments the industrial capacities and potentialities of India. The latest success which has crowned those efforts is the obtaining of an order for the provision of steel huts for overseas forces, of the value of 28 lakhs of rupees, an order which I am sure will be most acceptable to the engineering industry.

These items refer only to overseas orders. They do not include munitions of war, of which the various ordnance factories in India, which are being largely and rapidly expanded to meet war requirements, are supplying vast quantities for the use of the British and Indian forces overseas. Let me only add that we are taking active steps to strengthen certain weak points in the existing position. Arrangements are being made to encourage the production of aluminium, of asbestos, and of certain chemicals the absence of which in sufficient quantities is a handicap to other industries. We are busy also in seeking to divert into other channels the uses of other products, such as coir, whose ordinary markets have been adversely affected by the war.

Let me thank you most warmly, Mr. President, for the attitude of patience which you recommend (and which, if I may, I would congratulate you on having yourself displayed) towards restrictions which may seem meaningless or unnecessary. On the part of my Government I

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would like to assure you that no restriction that may be imposed on trade and commerce is lightly imposed, or without the fullest consideration ; that we welcome criticism from such informed quarters as your own ; and that we recognize that in such an untried field we may sometimes take steps which we shall later have to retrace. You need have no fear that Government departments, however, in your own word, overworked, will not pay full attention to your representations on subjects on which it is realised that you have a store of experience they are only too conscious of lacking themselves.

In this connection I would refer to the newly created Department of Supply, to certain of the activities of which I referred a moment ago, and the operations of which I am sure many of you have in mind. If the full facts could be made known, I am sure there would be astonishment at the amount of business that that department is carrying through with an extremely exiguous staff. That has been rendered possible by two circumstances only. The first is that the Department is making every possible use of the existing peace-time supply organisations of Government—the Indian Stores Department, the Contracts Directorate, the Railway Purchase organisations, and many smaller organisations which come less prominently before the public. It is the intention to carry out all war purchase work through these existing organisations, expanded to the extent necessary, until they show signs of breaking under the strain ; and it is, I may incidentally claim, a tribute to the soundness of their peace-time organisation that none of them show any signs of such a break-down,—on the contrary that they show every sign of being equal to any strain we may have to place upon them.

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The second circumstance is even more important. We have adopted as a deliberate policy the policy of full co-operation with the industries or trades over which a measure of control may have to be exercised. Such a policy would be impossible if we could not count on the good will of the industry concerned, and I very gratefully acknowledge the measure in which this has been extended. You are aware that the Supply organisation is working through liaison officers, who have been appointed by the free and unanimous choice of the industries concerned. Such officers have already been appointed for the steel, engineering, leather and woollen industries, and the system will be extended as need arises. The immense amount of work which is being put in by these unpaid liaison officers, and by the Jute Controller of Purchase, is not realised by the general public. But I would take this opportunity of paying my own tribute to them, and of saying how fully I realise that the smoothness and despatch that have been achieved, and the general attitude of public approval which has greeted the work that has been done in connection with supply, is largely due to the respect which the competence and public spirit of these gentlemen inspires.

Another principle to which we are working in this matter, and of which I am sure you will approve, is that of allowing normal trade to continue, and to continue in normal channels, to the fullest extent possible, and to make purchases under Government control only when there is no other recourse. There is no resort to requisitioning or other compulsory process except when supplies are not offering at a reasonable price. Government have wide powers which they will not hesitate to use when necessary. But the co-operation hitherto extended by responsible

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organisations of commerce and industry in this country has hitherto made the use of such powers a rare exception.

Such is the brief outline of India's contribution in the field of production and manufacture during the first three months of war. It is a story of careful and purposeful planning between the authorities, civil and military, in this country and overseas, and of ready and enthusiastic co-operation between the business community throughout India and the departments of Government concerned. What has hitherto been achieved represents no more than a beginning, but it is a start full of promise, which has been rendered feasible only by the zeal and enthusiasm of all concerned. To those of us who are taking part in this great and growing effort it is—as I am sure you will agree—abundantly plain that throughout this great country there is an intense desire to aid in every possible way the allied cause and to bring about the defeat of Germany. I would ask you to compare this picture of India at war which, as you of your own experience are aware, is the true picture, with the distorted and painful image presented by the German propaganda machine—an image of an India divided and distraught, disabled from lending her powerful aid in support of those great principles to which she adheres, and impotent to play her part in a struggle with the outcome of which her whole future is so closely bound up.

From the great and significant question of India's contribution to the war I pass to certain other specific matters to which, Mr. President, you have referred in your speech, and on which you will wish for some comment from me. I share in the first place your regret that the Conference of Labour Ministers which was to have been

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held in November last had to be postponed. But my Government attach the utmost importance to the need for co-ordination of labour policy and the fostering of mutual understanding in that connection as between the Centre and the Provinces, and they have now convened the Conference for January 22.

The development of India's trade relations with other countries is, I would assure you, a matter of as deep and constant a concern to the Government of India as it is to great commercial Associations like yours. As you know, negotiations are now in progress for the conclusion of a fresh trade agreement between India and Japan. The need for a good understanding between India and Burma in the matter of trade is obvious; and I have noted your view, which I am sure the Government of India will carefully consider when the time comes, that the present Agreement needs very little modification. As for Ceylon, I share your hope that such obstacles as stand at present in the way of further discussion for the conclusion of a trade agreement beneficial to both countries will be resolved, and that whether in matters of commerce or otherwise, relations between the two countries, so closely associated with each other for centuries, will be put on a satisfactory basis.

You touched, Sir, in your speech on the question of drawing a line between the fields of Central and provincial taxation. There can be no question as to the extreme importance, in the interests alike of the Centre, the Provinces and the tax-paying members of the community, of securing an easy and clear-cut definition of the Central and Provincial fields of taxation. It is a problem inherent in any written Federal constitution. However well the Parliamentary draftsmen and the Legislatures do

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their work, it is inevitable that there* will remain on the margin between the two fields a sort of "no man's land", all too apt to become, and to remain, a sphere of contention between the competing taxation authorities, and to afford a battle-ground for the lawyers,—a battle-ground, too, the clearing up of which is a slow and expensive process, since each judicial decision obtained applies strictly to the particular case in respect of which it is given. A general, yet exhaustive, definition secured by mutual agreement would be the ideal solution. But the greater the number of interested parties the greater becomes the practical difficulty of attaining that ideal. An attempt was made at the Conference of Financial Representatives which was held in Delhi in January 1938 to secure some measure of agreement as between the Centre and the Provinces. That attempt unfortunately proved abortive. The ground might well have been further explored at a similar conference next month, but in present circumstances the idea of holding such a conference has for obvious reasons had to be abandoned. There the matter stands, and for the present must I fear remain.

As regards the flaws and anomalies which have, you suggest, been discovered in the amended Income-Tax Act, let me say at once that my Finance Member will be glad to give careful consideration to any representations on this question which the Chambers submit, and to the question, also, of proposing amendments to any provisions of the Act which are in practice found to work harshly or to be contrary to the professed intentions of the Legislature. But I am advised that so far at any rate the working of the amended Act has not disclosed to the Income-Tax authorities any serious defects in its provisions. As regards the tentative rates of depreciation proposed by the

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Central Board of Revenue, you will now be aware, Sir, that the Board proposes to discuss these rates with the interests involved during the latter half of January in New Delhi.

Let me, before I conclude, say how delighted I am to see your new Governor, His Excellency Sir John Herbert, with us today. As you, Mr. President, have remarked, he has taken over the great post of Governor of Bengal at a time, and in circumstances, which, because of the grave events now casting their shadow on the world, make his task more onerous and his responsibilities the heavier. How heavy is that task, how great those responsibilities, I know from my own close working with his distinguished predecessors, in particular with Sir John Anderson, and with our friend the late Lord Brabourne, whose premature death was so great a loss to this Presidency and to public life. Let me only, if you will allow me to, venture to say that in Sir John and Lady Mary Herbert, Bengal will find an enthusiasm for all good causes, an anxiety to promote her progress in every manner possible, worthy in every way of their distinguished predecessors.

Gentlemen, I do not propose to detain you longer. I have indeed already kept you much too long. But at a juncture such as the present when the minds of all of us are, it is not too much to say, obsessed with problems arising out of the reactions of the war on India, on the Empire, and on the world, and with the resolution of the difficulties which the war has presented to us, it is difficult, when touching on the war and what it means and may mean for the future, to keep within the limits that one normally would have set to oneself. Let me only say in conclusion how deep and real a satisfaction and an

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encouragement it is to me, at a time so critical as the present for India and for the world, to know that I have your confidence and your support. You may be certain, Gentlemen, that in the time that remains to me in India, I will spare no effort to justify your confidence in me, and to deserve it.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
150TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS OF ST.
THOMAS' SCHOOL, CALCUTTA.

1st Decem-
ber, 1939.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the 150th Anniversary Celebrations of St. Thomas' School, Calcutta, on 21st December 1939 :—

My Lord Bishop, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is a very great pleasure to me that I have been privileged to be among you on this the 150th Anniversary of the foundation of the oldest Christian school in Calcutta. I am happy to feel that you have invited me here to-day to continue a tradition established by a long line of Viceroys before me. Traditions are an asset to a school which few will find easy to define, but the value of which none will deny. A wealth of associations and experience, joys and sorrows, disappointments and triumphs, accumulated over 150 years, must lend a mellow and sympathetic quality to the air you breathe which will not be found in a new school, no matter how prosperous or efficient it may be, and what we have seen to-day is enough to prove that the boys and girls of old schools yield to none in smartness and efficiency. I am going to present, in a moment, the Viceroy's prizes for the best boy and girl here. These prizes have been distributed every year now for 70 years, and the boy and girl who have earned them may well be proud of their distinction. I congratulate them, and at the

*H. E. the Viceroy's speech at the dedication of the tablet to the
Memory of the late Lord Brabourne.*

same time I would like to say this to those others who have not won a prize : because your work or play has not been judged the best, that does not mean that it is not good. Good work, even though it may not always be recognised at school or in after-life, has its own reward. Go on working and playing with all your might, whatever triumphs and disappointments may come your way, for so you will become good citizens ; and the world has, and will have need of such, at no period of its history more than to-day and in the years that are to come. Good Luck to you all and God be with you always.

DEDICATION SPEECH : MEMORIAL TO LORD
BRABOURNE.

H. E. the Viceroy made the following speech at the dedication of the tablet to the Memory of the late Lord Brabourne on the 24th December 1939 :—

24th Decem-
ber, 1939.

Most Reverend Father in God,—Before asking you to dedicate this tablet to Lord Brabourne's memory I would wish briefly to recall the record of his service to his country, and the qualities that so greatly endeared him to all who knew him and that made his early death so acute a loss to his friends.

Educated at Wellington and at the Royal Military Academy, Lord Brabourne served with great distinction in the European war, in the course of which he was thrice mentioned in despatches, in addition to receiving the Military Cross.

Elected in 1931 to the House of Commons, his high quality and his great promise drew attention to him from the first. He served with Sir Samuel Hoare, then Secretary of State for India, during a period of the first im-

*H. E. the Viceroy's speech at the dedication of the tablet to the
Memory of the late Lord Brabourne.*

portance in the shaping of the future constitution of India. In 1933 he was selected for the high office of Governor of Bombay, and the work he did as Governor of that great Presidency until he resigned his Governorship in 1937 on becoming Governor of Bengal, fully vindicated the wisdom of the choice. In Bengal, though he had served there for little more than a year at the time of his premature death, he had already confirmed, and if possible enhanced, the distinguished reputation he had early established.

So much for the record of his public work ; a record sufficiently striking in the case of a man of 43 ; a record which clearly shows that there is no distinction and no eminence in the service of the Crown to which he might not have hoped to rise. But no picture of Lord Brabourne would be a complete one if it did not touch on his personal qualities. He united, in a peculiar and unusual degree, great capacity for work, a marked quickness of apprehension, wide sympathy and an outstanding personal charm. His readiness to spare no effort in any good cause, his anxiety at all times to give to his country and to his friends the best that was in him, are known to all of us who had the honour and the privilege of working with him. Those qualities, combined with a solidity and a balance of judgment, rare at any time, noteworthy in particular in a man still so young, held forth the greatest hope for future years. Whether on public or on personal grounds, his loss is one that cannot be replaced to his country or his friends. His record, and his work, remain an encouragement and an inspiration to us all.

Most Reverend Father in God, on behalf of his relatives and the people of this Province, of which he was the much loved Governor, I request that you will graciously dedicate this tablet to the memory of the late Michael Herbert Rudolph Knatchbull, Baron Brabourne.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
PRIZE-GIVING CEREMONY OF THE RAJKUMAR
COLLEGE, RAIPUR.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Prize-giving Ceremony of the Rajkumar College, Raipur, on Thursday, the 4th January 1940 :—

Mr. Principal, Ruling Chiefs, Kumars, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am very grateful to you for the cordial terms in which you have welcomed Lady Linlithgow and myself on this our first visit to the Rajkumar College of which we had already heard so much.

It gives me very real pleasure to be among you today and if I, too, am indeed disappointed that our visit has to be of such a short duration, I can assure you that I should have been still more disappointed if no opportunity had offered while I remained in India to see and hear at first hand how your College fares.

The speeches to which we have listened have contained not only a great deal of interesting information about the College itself, but have also raised matters which are of the utmost importance to those who have at heart the welfare of this country's youth. I cannot hope to treat of these matters more than cursorily in the limited time at my disposal today, but as I listened, one or two points occurred, upon which I should like to make some comment. I was particularly struck with that part of the speech of the President of your General Council, the Raja Bahadur of Sarangarh, in which he explained that there had been a tendency in recent years to abandon the old idea that a highly exclusive school is necessarily the best for boys who belong to Rulers' families. The question of the best kind of education is probably one of the oldest subjects of debate among schoolmasters and philosophers. It can, perhaps, never be finally answered

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—and fortunately so, for it is a matter which we should constantly be turning over in our minds and approaching from fresh angles. In any case I do not intend to produce any ready-made answer of my own today, but this much I should like to say, that I most cordially agree with those of the Governing Body and the Ruling Chiefs who believe that the change which has opened the gates of this College to boys of other than Raj families cannot fail to be one of immense and mutual benefit to all who are educated here.

One of the obligations of nobility, whether of class or character, is leadership, which in India as anywhere else in the world is not worth the name, and may even be a positive danger, if it is not inspired by sympathy, tolerance and understanding ; and these virtues are not plants which can be raised in the shelter of a green-house, but in the open fields. Your College has a Sanskrit motto which might be translated thus : “ The king has honour in his own kingdom, but the wise man has honour everywhere ”. That is a good motto and an appropriate one, and as applied to this College and to the boys who are trained here for the outside world its meaning, I should think, is clear. A wise ruler will aim at earning respect beyond the boundaries of his State, and a young man who wishes to make his mark in the world, whether as a good ruler or as a good citizen, will be better fitted for it by training in a College such as yours is planned to be, which eschews exclusiveness and concentrates on broadening the mind and enriching the character.

I listened with close attention to what you too, Mr. Principal, had to say on the subject of first-class schools for first-class boys, and I think we can all accept without hesitation your definition of what such a school

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should be. I am extremely glad to hear that the conditions which you described are those which the Governing Body and Staff of the Rajkumar College have set before them to attain. Your definition and the objects of which you spoke might equally be those of any great British Public School, and I for my part am happy to know that the Rajkumar College is not the only College in India which has embarked on a process of conversion to a Public School model. No matter what criticism may be levelled against the Public School system, there is no doubt whatever that the Public Schools of Great Britain have been at least as successful as any other educational system in the world in producing the qualities of leadership and initiative, a sense of responsibility and of public duty, all qualities which are to be found, and must be developed too, among those who are to lead India forward to her rightful place among the free and self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

I was reading the other day a small pamphlet entitled "Fifty Questions and Answers about the Rajkumar College". There would be, I am sure, far more than fifty questions to be asked and answered before the interesting subject was exhausted, but for all who may wish to know more of what this College aims at and what it does and provides, I can thoroughly recommend that pamphlet. Incidentally, when I read in it that the four school prefects here are entitled to keep their own motor cars, it occurred to me that their counterpart, in any British Public School, would consider that in the matter of privileges which they so dearly cherish, the Rajkumar College was a shining example of modernity and enlightenment.

I understand that Lady Linlithgow and I are very kindly going to be invited to lay the foundation stones

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of two buildings which will add considerably to the amenities that already exist.

As regards the New Hall, which will be built to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of this College, I am assured that although not all the money to meet the cost has yet been collected, there is no doubt about it eventually being raised, and I gladly consent to perform the ceremony.

As for the swimming bath, in which this College will have renewed cause to be grateful to the Raja of Khairagarh for his generosity, I must say that my wife and I are somewhat relieved that the work is not so far advanced that we might be expected, in this January whether, to open it in the manner usual in such cases, by taking the first plunge. I can well understand, however, that in the dusty summer months you will all be profoundly thankful to the Raja Sahib who has endowed you with this means of refreshment, exercise and relaxation.

A great many prizes have been distributed today. Those who have received them have their recognition and their encouragement to do still better ; and to those who have not been awarded prizes I have this to say. Do not be disappointed, but do your best always and another time you will succeed. And remember that you will be lucky, I may say unique, if after you have left school you find that your good work, even your best work, invariably wins a prize. Your reward, as you will come to understand if you do not understand it now, lies in your endeavour and in your work itself.

We are living in troubled times. None can see far into the future, or can pretend to guess what new order, social, political or economic may emerge for the world in the next few years. At such a time individuals, com-

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at a Dinner Party given by His Excellency Sir Francis Wylie at Government House, Nagpur.

munities, nations, and all mankind are in desperate need of the virtues of courage, self-confidence, mutual trust and understanding, which alone can lead the peoples of the world to build again what has been shattered, and bind themselves together more strongly in a spirit of unity, brotherhood and goodwill. These virtues, I believe, the Rajkumar College is doing its best to instil and to evoke, and India will have cause to be grateful to it and to all like-minded institutions.

It remains for me only to repeat, on behalf of your guests today, how grateful we are to all who have contributed to make our visit so interesting and pleasant. We will take away with us very happy memories and will leave with you our best wishes for your continued prosperity and success. Good luck to you all.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT A DINNER PARTY GIVEN BY HIS EXCELLENCY SIR FRANCIS WYLIE, AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE, NAGPUR.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at a Dinner Party given by His Excellency Sir Francis Wylie, at Government House, Nagpur, on the evening of 5th January 1940 :—

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you most warmly, Sir Francis, for your very cordial welcome and for the kind words which you have been good enough to use to-night. I can assure you that it is with real pleasure that my wife and I find ourselves at last able to pay a visit to the Central Provinces and Berar, and to meet Lady Wylie and yourself for the first time in your own Province. We have long looked forward to

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His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at a Dinner Party given by His Excellency Sir Francis Wylie at Government House, Nagpur.

our visit, and, as you I think know; on more than one occasion I had hoped that earlier in my Viceroyalty circumstances might have made it possible for me to see again a part of India of which I have such very happy recollections since my visit to it twelve years ago with the Royal Commission on Agriculture.

I do not propose to make a speech to-night : nor, I am sure, do you expect me to do so. But I would like to thank you sincerely for your very kind references to the work which at one time or other it has been my privilege to do, or to try to do, on behalf of India—references which I deeply value. Let me say, too, how great an encouragement, and how great a satisfaction, it was to me to hear from you to-night that the servants of the Crown in the Central Provinces and Berar are satisfied as to the closeness of my concern for the safeguarding at all times of their legitimate interests. None of us on whom the burden of administration has fallen will ever underestimate the importance to good government of the contentment, and the confidence, of those public services on whose efficiency and whose experience, so much must in the last resort at all times depend.

I thank you most warmly, too, on my wife's behalf for the reference you have made to her appeal for aid in combating the scourge of tuberculosis. Nothing has been closer to her heart during all the time that she has been in India than the alleviation of the misery and the distress inseparable from its ravages. She is happy indeed to think that the response to her appeal should have been so generous and so spontaneous, and that there should be so good a prospect in the result of a contribution of real value to the prevention and the treatment of tuberculosis in India.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at a Dinner Party given by the Hon'ble Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy, at Nagpur.

Thank you again very much for the welcome you have given us and for your kind words. We have greatly enjoyed our first days in the Central Provinces. We are sorry only that circumstances should make it necessary for us to leave you so much sooner than we could have wished.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT A
DINNER PARTY GIVEN BY THE HON'BLE
SIR MANECKJEE DADABHOY, AT NAGPUR.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at a Dinner Party given by the Hon'ble Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy, at Nagpur, on 6th January 1940 :—

6th January
1940.

Your Excellency, Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am most grateful to you, Sir Maneckjee, for the very kind words in which you have been good enough to propose to-night the toast of the health of Lady Linlithgow and myself. You know well from our many conversations at different times over the last four years how anxious I have been to have an opportunity of visiting Nagpur and of renewing my acquaintance with the Central Provinces and Berar. I only wish that the pressure of engagements to which you have referred in your speech made it possible for me now to spend longer in a part of India which I visited with so much pleasure and so much enjoyment when I was Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and which I have ever since looked forward to seeing again. But you will not, I know, think that the shortness of our stay on this occasion—a shortness imposed upon us by considerations outside my control—in any way reflects the degree of my interest in the Central Provinces and Berar, and in its welfare and its progress.

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I am all the more grateful to you in circumstances in which our stay must be so short for the kindness and consideration you have shown in giving me the opportunity of meeting to-night so representative a gathering. You know, I think, how anxious I am at all times to hear first hand impressions and to establish that personal contact which is of such inestimable value in the conduct of public affairs. It is a great pleasure to us to be here to-night, to meet so many representative of very diverse interests in the Central Provinces and Berar, and to see, too, His Excellency Sir Francis Wylie and Lady Wylie, to whose admirable work since the Governor took over his very responsible charge a year ago you have referred in such happy terms. Sir Francis came to the Central Provinces with a record of great distinction. I well know how close and how constant is the interest which he has taken since he assumed office in every aspect of the life of the Province, and how ably and with what distinction he has maintained and developed the eminent tradition of public service left by the late Sir Hyde Gowan, with whom I had the privilege of collaborating during three very responsible years, and to whom it fell to inaugurate the system of Provincial Autonomy under the Act of 1935 in the Central Provinces and Berar.

I listened, I need not say, with the closest interest to the references which you made to-night to the natural resources of the Central Provinces. You touched in the first place on the fact that this area, so happily situated geographically in the centre of the Indian sub-continent, is the meeting place of three of the great crops of India—wheat, rice and cotton—and so is of particular interest from the agricultural standpoint. You mentioned also the great mineral resources of the province. I know well how great has been your own share in the development of

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those resources, and how great a service you have rendered to India and to the Empire in that way. I need only mention two of the many deposits of particular value in the Central Provinces—coal and manganese. The contribution to the welfare and the prosperity of the province made by the personal energy and the business acumen which you have exhibited in connection with the organisation and the working of that great natural wealth are well known to every one : and I need say no more to-night on that point than to repeat my sense of our debt to you for the assistance you have given in connection with them.

I had always hoped that I should be so fortunate as to visit the Central Provinces at a time when general pressure was less acute, and when conditions alike in the local political and in the international sphere were happier, and likely to give me more opportunity of visiting the outlying parts of this province and of seeing with my own eyes the various directions in which it is moving forward ; of examining the agricultural problem on the spot ; and, if possible, of paying a visit to some of those industrial enterprises to which you have referred. Fate has ordained otherwise, and my visit has fallen at a time when, as you have rightly reminded us, not only in the local political sphere, but in the sphere of international affairs we are confronted by grave problems calling for the closest attention and for the anxious consideration of all of us on whom any burden of responsibility for the handling of the affairs of India and of every part of India rests today.

You have alluded, Sir Maneckjee, in feeling terms to the war situation. It is only too present to all of us. It is indeed a situation which can never for a moment be out of our thoughts, and the existence of which must for the

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time being dominate all others. It is a situation which, as I recently remarked elsewhere, is of profound and lasting importance to India. India cannot but be concerned in the most vital degree, whether in the material or in the political sphere, in the success of the Allies. The realisation of the ideals and of the aims which the Allies have set before themselves in entering into this war, and in its prosecution, are equally of profound significance and concern to a country which, whatever internal political differences there may for the moment be, has never hesitated to make clear in the most unmistakable manner the whole-heartedness of its support for the objectives which animate the Empire and the Allies in the struggle in which we are now engaged. Nothing could be more encouraging to me than to feel that there is so little difference of opinion—indeed I should have said so marked a unanimity of opinion—in India as to the justice of our cause, and as to the compelling nature of the motives which have actuated us in entering the war. It is with all the greater satisfaction in those circumstances that I am able to pay a tribute to-night not only to the material assistance which the Central Provinces and Berar have in one way or another so readily lent to India's war effort ; but to the assurance you have given me, speaking as one of the most respected and most eminent citizens of this province, of the readiness of all concerned to spare no effort to play their part and to lend the utmost aid in their power to the realisation of the aims which we have set before us.

You have reminded us in the speech which you have just made that difficulties confront us today, difficulties not merely in the international, but also in the internal Indian sphere. I am only too conscious of that fact. I could wish that things had been otherwise, fully as I accept the

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sincerity of the approach to this question of participation in the war of those who have felt doubts, doubts which it has not so far been wholly possible to resolve, as to the position of His Majesty's Government. You have truly remarked that it has been to me a profound disappointment that the outbreak of the war at the juncture at which it happened should have resulted in even the temporary interruption of the harmonious working of the scheme of Provincial Autonomy, and that, too, it should have been responsible for the interruption of the orderly progress of India as a whole through the stages indicated in the Government of India Act, of 1935, to that goal of Dominion Status, which it has always been the wish of His Majesty's Government that she should achieve at the earliest possible date and which it is today still their wish to see attained at the earliest possible moment that circumstances render practicable.

We find ourselves as I speak to you to-night faced with a situation marked by many anomalies. India is whole-hearted in her support for the ideals for which His Majesty's Government are fighting the war. She is making a great contribution, whether in men or in materials, to the prosecution of the war. She is ready and anxious to make a contribution greater still—indeed not the least of the problems which have presented themselves to me since the outbreak of the war has been the difficulty, given the turn which the war has taken, of making the fullest use of offers so generous as those which I have received from every province and every State in India. Yet internally we have had to face in so many provinces, including this province in which I speak to-night, the temporary employment of the emergency provisions of the Act of 1935, and a reversion, as you have indicated, to a form of government resembling far more

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by the Hon'ble Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy, at Nagpur.*

closely in very many ways that which operated before the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms than can be regarded with equanimity by any of us who are anxious to promote the political development of India and the achievement of her full status in the Empire.

Speaking recently I ventured to remark that there were times when silence was better than speech so far as constitutional development was concerned : and while I am aware that that view has in certain quarters been criticized, nothing has happened in the last three weeks to lead me materially to alter it, or to feel that much more may not stand to be lost than to be gained by an over-emphasis in public on the difficulties that may lie before us, real as they are, or by too much discussion on the public platform of those difficulties and of the means by which they can best be solved. The difficulties themselves are only too present to all of us. The complexity of the factors that have to be reconciled ; the importance of the communities the parties and the interests concerned ; the necessity for applying a balanced view to a situation of such intricacy ; the careful planning and the foresight called for in devising solutions of problems the roots of which lie so deep and the consequences of the answer to which carry us so far into the future, need no emphasis from me. The more strictly political side apart, the communal problem to which you have referred in impressive words, and the importance of which I accept as fully as I deplore its existence, is not the least of those matters.

In circumstances such as these, I would only repeat my own anxiety to co-operate in every possible way in finding a solution, and my confidence that, given its vital necessity to the prosperity, the progress, and the contentment of India, a solution must be found, and a solution

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consistent with the unity of India, a solution which will bring together not only the great communities inside British India, but the Indian States with the marked, if different, contribution which they are in a position to make, and which it is so necessary that they should make, to an Indian Dominion. I know, too,—as you are aware I have spared no pains to familiarize myself with the outlook and with the point of view of representatives of all communities and parties, and of the Indian States—how many conflicting elements remain to be harmonized. But I cannot feel that it should be beyond our capacity, however great the difficulties, to bring about their harmonization, even if the process of harmonizing is less rapid than we could have wished. Had we but been able to pursue the course devised over so many years with the assistance of the representatives of India, I have no doubt whatever in my own mind that we should by now be within reach of the goal. That has not been possible, and we must make the best of the situation as we find it, though in dealing with that situation we can, I think, be thankful that over a period of years provincial autonomy has given an opportunity to Indian political leaders of handling great problems, of exercising real power, and of enhancing that political experience the importance of which is so immense in relation to the ultimate constitutional position of this country.

I will say no more to-night than this—that differences exist as we all know too well : but that we should do better, as I have ventured to urge in a different connection before, to concentrate on points of agreement rather than on points of difference : that we should be wise to think at all times of India as a single whole, and to have in our minds the desire to do what in our power lies to hold her together, and to see her progress on the path of political

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and constitutional development. In the efforts which I made to help her in that direction I have had great assistance from the most eminent political leaders in this country. I hope and I am confident that I shall continue to receive that assistance. I would only urge the importance—if I may without giving rise to misunderstanding say so—of avoiding in these delicate political matters too unbending a rigidity ; of keeping an open mind, of a readiness to compromise ; of that courage and that sense of responsibility to one's country and for its future, that readiness to make adjustment with opposing interests, whether the degree of that opposition be great or small, which are the true test and the true sign of the deeper political wisdom. The sinking of differences, the preparation of those conditions and circumstances which bring about the establishment of Dominion Status, is, as you, Sir Maneckjee, have remarked to-night, the course of wisdom in present circumstances, and any help that I am capable of affording to achieve that ideal will be forthcoming in the greatest measure practicable.

Let me turn from the political field to another matter vitally affecting the life and the happiness of the inhabitants of this country on which you have touched to-night. I refer to the appeal for funds and for an organization to deal with the problem of tuberculosis. No words can over-estimate the significance of that problem in its relation to the daily life, the happiness, the contentment, the physical well-being, of millions of human beings, men, women, and children, through India. Lady Linlithgow has asked me to say how deeply she appreciates the generous reference which you have made in your speech to her own work in this connection. She has asked me to say, too, how greatly she has valued the ready response to her appeal in the Central Provinces and

*His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Opening of the
Nagpur High Court Buildings.*

Berar—and as you know, 95 per cent. of all sums raised locally are applied for tuberculosis work in the province itself—and the interest which has so clearly shown itself in many parts of the province in the prevention and the treatment of a disease which represents so great a scourge.

Sir Maneckjee, I have already kept you longer than I had intended. Let me say only in conclusion how keen a pleasure it is to us to be even for so short a time in the Central Provinces and how disappointed we are that we cannot stay here longer. Let me thank you again most sincerely for your generous hospitality, and for the warm and cordial welcome so characteristic not only of yourself, but of the Central Provinces and Berar—a welcome which I can assure you we deeply appreciate and which we will always remember.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
OPENING OF THE NAGPUR HIGH COURT BUILD-
INGS.**

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Opening of the Nagpur High Court Buildings, on the 6th January 1940 :—

Your Excellency, Chief Justice, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am deeply grateful for the kind terms in which you, Chief Justice, have invited me to perform the ceremony of opening this new High Court building.

It is only rarely that an opportunity comes the way of a Viceroy to open a new Court of Justice, and I count it therefore as a special privilege that I am able to do so today.

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The opening of a school or a hospital can be a significant ceremony, for such institutions symbolise a degree of progress and the useful expenditure of money and energy in the interests of humanity and enlightenment ; but the building which we see before us is the outward and visible sign of something which is on a different plane, and the value of which must be assessed by other standards, than those of the relief of physical suffering and the advancement of learning.

Justice, administered without fear or favour, is a true index of the freedom of the land in which it flourishes. It is the foundation on which freedom builds, and where it is lacking, material prosperity, disciplined patriotism or military might, are facades of lath and plaster, with nothing at all. Of this we can today recognise only too clearly the tragic proof in those parts of the world whence justice, as we know it, has been driven forth.

Here in Nagpur, however, a new and worthy House of Justice has been built, and here the laws of India, ancient but vital institutions, will find new space for living and growing, through interpretation by your judges, and the precedents established in your courts.

I listened with much interest, to your account, Sir, of the history of judicial administration in this Province. It is over three quarters of a century since the first Judicial Commissioner was appointed, but for the greater part of that period, during which there were developments of the utmost importance in the legislative and executive machinery of the administration, and in the territorial and commercial expansion of the Province, the judicial administration made little advance. The Letters Patent of four years ago were conferred in response to a very intelligible demand for an independent judiciary. A

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Nagpur High Court Buildings.*

chartered High Court is symbolical of the King's Majesty as the fount of justice, and it is easy to sympathise with a public opinion that demanded this valuable safeguard.

You have described the building, Sir, as a poem in stone. If its beauty has as great a functional value as it is satisfying to the eye—and your description leads me to believe that it has—it is indeed a work of art, and the architect, the builders and craftsmen, and the material itself, of which so great a part comes from your own Province, should have our most sincere congratulations.

It is perhaps in keeping with that tradition in Eastern art which holds that the work of man should not presume to rival the perfection of God's handiwork, and therefore should be incomplete in some detail, that the building as we see it now should be without its dome. That feature has been delayed, I understand, for the very sensible reason that in its original design it was too heavy for the supporting pillars. Let justice be done though the heavens fall, as you, Sir, have reminded me, but if the dome were to have fallen while you were engaged upon your business, I doubt if the most imperturbable judge, lawyer or litigant among you, could have quoted, as calmly as a headmaster of my old school, when a map of the world collapsed about his head :

Si fractus illabatur orbis

Impavidum ferient ruinae.

I have spoken long enough, I feel, about a building, the courts of which will experience in the years to come in full measure the fruits of judicial acumen and forensic eloquence. It remains for me only to say with what great pleasure I now declare open this building, worthily designed and constructed to house the High Court of Judicature at Nagpur.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
BOMBAY CITY POLICE PARADE.**

8th January,
1940.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Bombay City Police Parade on Monday, the 8th January 1940 :—

Your Excellency, Commissioner, Officers and Men of the Bombay City Police,—I am proud to see you on parade today. When I last saw you a year ago I was impressed by the smartness of your drill and of your turnout, and what I have seen today has served to emphasize that impression and to enhance your great and well-deserved reputation. That reputation was not primarily earned on the parade ground but in the course of your everyday duties of protecting your fellow citizens and of keeping the peace. During the last year this city has been free from any serious disturbance,—a fact for which great credit is due to you. The introduction of prohibition has added to your duties the responsibility for preventive action, and in that respect I am glad to hear that you have made a good beginning. I know that you will continue to do your duty at all times, to combine firmness with restraint, and to earn the support of the public, which will be freely given to you so long as you continue to deserve it. I shall follow your future activities with interest, confident that in all circumstances you will do high credit to the force to which you are privileged to belong.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
OPENING OF THE NEW WING OF ST. MARY'S
HIGH SCHOOL, MAZAGAON, BOMBAY.**

8th January,
1940.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the opening of the New Wing of St. Mary's High School, Mazagaon, Bombay, on Monday, the 8th January 1940 :—

Your Excellency, Father Savall, Ladies and Gentlemen, boys and girls of St. Mary's High School,—I am most

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Opening of the New Wing of St. Mary's High School, Mazagaon, Bombay.

grateful for the very cordial welcome which you have given me. I am delighted that I should have had this opportunity of visiting your school and I consider it a privilege that I should have been invited to perform what Father Savall has kindly described as the crowning ceremony of your Diamond Jubilee.

A school which combines the best of old traditions and new ideas, which is, in the happy figure you employed, Sir, a tree with its roots in the ground and its head reaching for the light, must be a healthy growth, and will need space in which to expand, and room in which to breathe.

I am sure, therefore, that it was a wise decision to spend over one lakh of rupees out of this school's building fund on this new extension which will provide classrooms as well as a new games room. Your dream, as you say, has been fulfilled, and I congratulate those who were responsible for the conception and for the execution of the design. Nor should one deny a measure of tribute to the Government of Bombay which, in these times when money is hard to come by, is contributing generously both to the maintenance of the school and to the building fund.

A flourishing school of over 500 pupils, established for over 75 years, would be an asset to any city in the world, and St. Mary's High School is undoubtedly an asset of this great City of Bombay. It was wholly appropriate, therefore, that the Mayor should have associated the city with the School's welfare by laying the first stone of this new building. Since it falls to me to complete, as it were, ceremonially the work which he inaugurated, let me add my blessing and an expression of my fervent hope that this School may continue, under God's guidance and in prosperity, for many years to come, to give of its best

*His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Luncheon given by
the Orient Club, Bombay.*

to the community, the city and the country which it serves, in the spirit which has illumined its history for the past three-quarters of a century. I now have great pleasure in declaring open this New Wing of St. Mary's High School.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
LUNCHEON GIVEN BY THE ORIENT CLUB,
BOMBAY.

10th January,
1940.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Luncheon given by the Orient Club, Bombay, on the 10th January 1940 :—

I thank you most warmly, Mr. Chairman, for your kind words. I should like to say how very grateful I am to you and to the members of the Orient Club for their very kind invitation to me to be present here to-day. I am delighted to be able to see Bombay again, and I shall always remember the warm welcome which you, Gentlemen, and Bombay, were kind enough to give me when I came here a year ago.

A great deal has happened since we last met. The first thing, and the thing that must be most prominent in the minds of every one of us, is the outbreak of war, with all its consequences for good and for evil of every kind. So far as India is concerned, there has indeed been a noble response. I have been inundated with offers of men, of money, of material assistance of every kind ; and the fullest advantage practicable in the circumstances in which this war is being fought has been taken of those very generous offers. It has been a great happiness to me to know how widely and how fully they have been appreciated at home and throughout the Empire, and I am glad to think that the magnitude of our war effort

*His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Luncheon given by
the Orient Club, Bombay.*

should be so fully recognized. We have, I suspect, a long way to go yet. We may have to face many very difficult and awkward situations. It may well be that the real test still lies ahead of us. But we may be thankful that all the preparatory work done in our own restricted field in India has proved to have been on the right foundations : and every day that passes makes the position of the Allies stronger, as it makes, I believe, that of the enemy weaker. Every day, too, makes clearer to the world the inevitability of the decision which we took at the beginning of September, and the vital necessity of our attaining our objectives, and of our protecting and securing the position of these high ideals for which we are fighting to-day.

When I had the pleasure of meeting you a year ago, Gentlemen, I spoke of the working of Provincial Autonomy, and the success which the scheme of provincial autonomy under the Act of 1935 had achieved in this great Presidency. I said, too, that Provincial Autonomy was only one part of the scheme. I emphasized the importance of bringing into effect without any delay the scheme of Federation which was the coping stone of the constitutional structure embodied in the Act. I said that it was all the more important that we should secure Federation with as little delay as practicable because of the deterioration in the international situation, and I urged that we should press on with it with all the energy in our power, since, whatever its shortcomings, the federal scheme was the scheme that held out the best hope of swift constitutional progress and of the unity of India.

We meet to-day in very different circumstances. To my deep regret there has been in this province a temporary interruption in the normal working of the scheme of Provincial Autonomy. We have no longer in power, Ministers backed by a majority in the legislature ; and

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the administration is perforce being carried on under the emergency provisions of the Act of 1935. No one regrets, I am sure, more than you do yourselves that this should be the case, or that at a time when the burdens and the responsibilities to be carried on behalf of the public are greater than they have ever been, Ministers should not be in power to assist in carrying those burdens. We can but trust that this interruption will be temporary, and that the re-establishment of the normal working of the constitution in the provincial sphere will before long be practicable.

But in the provincial field we have at any rate been able to bring into being, and to test by practical application, those portions of the Act of 1935 which devolve great powers and responsibilities on elected Ministers. We had not reached that point in the Centre when the war broke out, though our preparations were being pushed on with all possible energy. At the beginning of the war, which we had every reason to believe would develop on lines which would make it immediately necessary to concentrate every atom of our energy on the prosecution of the war to the exclusion of all other matters, the course of wisdom, much as all of us might regret it, was clearly for the time being to suspend the preparations afoot for the establishment of the Federation of India. I deeply regret myself that that should have been necessary, since whatever criticisms on one ground or another have been levelled against the scheme of federation in the Act, could it but have been brought into operation, it would, as I remarked recently elsewhere, have provided us with the solution of almost all the problems that confront us to-day—the presence of Ministers at the Centre ; the association of the Indian States—a point of such vital importance to British India—in a common Government ; the representation of

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all minorities on the lines elaborated after a full consideration of the claims and proposals of the minorities themselves ; and the unity of India.

You know only too well how things have gone since September. I do not propose to dilate on that to-day. As you know, in response to requests for a clarification of the aims of His Majesty's Government and of the intentions towards India, His Majesty's Government has made it clear, both through statements issued by myself, and in Parliament, that their objective for India is full Dominion Status, Dominion Status, too, of the Statute of Westminster variety : that, so far as the intermediate period is concerned (and it is their desire to make that intermediate period the shortest practicable), they are ready to consider the reopening of the scheme of the Act of 1935 so soon as practicable after the war with the aid of Indian opinion : that they are prepared in the meantime, subject to such local adjustments between the leaders of the great communities as may be necessary to ensure harmonious working, and as an immediate earnest of their intention, to expand the Executive Council of the Governor General by the inclusion of a small number of political leaders : and that they are ready and anxious to give all the help they can to overcome the difficulties that confront us and that confront India to-day. But those assurances have not, to my profound regret, dissipated the doubts and the uncertainties which have led to the withdrawal from office of the Congress Ministers, and which have made it necessary in seven provinces to make use of the emergency provisions of the Act.

The pronouncements made on behalf of His Majesty's Government since the beginning of the war make clear. I think, beyond any question whatever, their intentions.

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and their anxiety to help. The federal scheme of the Act was itself designed as a stage on the road to Dominion Status : and under that scheme, devised, I would remind you, long before there was any question of a war, very wide and extensive powers were to be placed in the hands of a Central Government representing the Indian States as well as British India, and constituted on a very broad basis indeed. There can be no question of the good faith and the sincerity of His Majesty's Government in the efforts they have made to deal with the constitutional future of India. I well know that there are many people who press for swifter and more radical solutions of the problems before us. I do not question the sincerity or the good intentions of those who feel that way. But all those of us who have to deal with problems of this magnitude know only too well how often we are attracted by apparently simple solutions ; how often those apparently simple solutions, when more closely investigated, reveal unexpected difficulties, and difficulties, too, of unexpected importance, anxious as we may all be to take what seems to be the shortest course.

Short cuts, as many of us know to our cost, are too often prone in experience to lead to a considerable waste of time. Nowhere I fear is that truer than of the political problems of India, for there are difficulties, and real difficulties, of which we are all aware, and which we all regret. But they will not be avoided or disposed of by ignoring their existence. The wise course is to face up to those difficulties and to try to find a solution of them that will result in the subsequent co-operation of all the parties and interests concerned. We are, after all, dealing not with one political party only, but with many. Nor must we forget the essential necessity, in the interests of Indian unity, of the inclusion of the Indian States in any constitu-

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the Orient Club, Bombay.*

tional scheme. There are the insistent claims of the minorities. I need refer only to two of them—the great Muslim minority and the Scheduled Castes—there are the guarantees that have been given to the minorities in the past ; the fact that their position must be safeguarded, and that those guarantees must be honoured. I know, Gentlemen, that you appreciate the difficulty of the position of the Viceroy and the difficulty of the position of His Majesty's Government, faced as they are with strong and conflicting claims advanced by bodies and interests to whose views the utmost attention must be paid, and whose position must receive the fullest consideration. Justice must be done as between the various parties, and His Majesty's Government are determined to see justice done. But I would ask my friends in the various parties to consider whether they cannot get together and reach some agreement between them-selves which would facilitate my task, and the task of His Majesty's Government, in dealing with this vital question of Indian constitutional progress : and I would venture again to emphasize the case for compromise, the case for avoiding too rigid an approach to problems such as those with which we are dealing to-day.

As to the objective there is no dispute. I am ready to consider any practical suggestion that has general support, and I am ready, when the time comes, to give every help that I personally can. His Majesty's Government are not blind—nor can we be blind here—to the practical difficulties involved in moving at one step from the existing constitutional position into that constitutional position which is represented by Dominion Status. But here again I can assure you that their concern and mine is to spare no effort to reduce to the minimum the interval between the existing state of things and the achievement of Dominion Status.

*His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Opening of the Annual
Exhibition of the Bombay Arts Society.*

Diamond Jubilee it would be rash to prophesy, but if history is any guide there is reason to hope that Indian Art will by then be rising to, will perhaps have reached, a new peak of excellence, greater than any previously attained in her long artistic tradition.

Art, as Sir Cowasji has told us, requires patronage and encouragement, and therefore an atmosphere of prosperity in which to flourish. To this I would add that a period of great art must also be a period of confidence, unity and ordered progress, when high hopes and great achievements quicken the imagination and lift up the spirit.

Art never thrives, though its seeds may continue to live, during a period of intellectual complacency or of political chaos, such as those which followed the disintegration of the Roman Empire and the end of the Moghul Period. Greek Art of the Periclean Age and the Art of the Italian Renaissance rose out of a trough of conventionalism on the upsurging of a great wave of fresh ideas and new values, of bold and courageous experiment. India, in this first half of the twentieth century, stands, I believe, on the threshold of just such another period, and this is reflected not only in a revival of interest in art and artistic appreciation, but also in the new vigour and creative impulse which are apparent in Indian Art today.

Moreover, I am optimistic enough to believe that out of the struggle in which we are engaged today a new world will be born ; a world of security, confidence, prosperity and co-operation ; a world in which the arts of peace can flourish. Let us hope so, at any rate, for, paradox though it may seem, that is what we are fighting for.

And now I do not propose to stand any longer between you and the feast of the eyes which, I am sure,

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awaits us all, except to thank you once more, Mr. President and to say that, while the Bombay Arts Society continues I have no fear for the promotion of the best interests of Indian Art, not only in this Presidency but throughout the country. I have very great pleasure in declaring this Exhibition open.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
BANQUET AT BARODA.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Banquet at Baroda on Wednesday, the 17th January 1940 :—

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The postponement of my visit to Baroda last year caused me great disappointment which was followed by profound sadness when I learnt last February of the demise of His late Highness. I realised fully how great must be the loss to Baroda State. Your Highness has rightly said that his life was dedicated to the service of his people, who loved and revered him, and his death has left a void that can never be filled.

I know that in your personal grief you must feel the loss irreparable, but with clear foresight His late Highness took pains to ensure that his successor should be well versed in the intricacies of administration and fully equipped to build on the foundations of wise and sympathetic rule which he had so firmly laid. It must therefore have been a solace to him in his last days to know that in Your Highness he had a successor able immediately to take up the reins of Government. I am fully confident that with his life as an inspiration, Your Highness will, in the course of time, fill in the hearts of your subjects, that void to which you have referred.

From hearsay, I had been made aware of the warm welcome and thoughtful hospitality which might be

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech, at the Banquet at Baroda

expected at Baroda, but I can assure Your Highness that the reality has far exceeded my anticipations. I thank Your Highness for the kind references you have made to Lady Linlithgow and myself, and for the loyal sentiments to which you have given expression. Lady Linlithgow particularly asks me to thank you for what you have said about the work which she has tried to do for the alleviation of suffering caused by the scourge of tuberculosis. The very generous contribution of over Rupees two lakhs, which His late Highness made to the Anti-Tuberculosis Fund, was a source of great encouragement to her.

In this anxious time of war it must give great comfort to His Majesty to receive such constant evidence of the devotion of the Princes of India. Your Highness' offer placing all the resources of your State at His Majesty's disposal was one of the first of its kind I had the pleasure of receiving and conveying to His Majesty the King Emperor, and I know that when the need arises Baroda will not be found wanting in any respect.

I listened with much appreciation to Your Highness' remarks on the question of Federation, and I am glad to think that Your Highness shares the view of that sage and experienced statesman His Highness the late Maharaja, as to the soundness of the line of constitutional advance represented by the federal section of the Act, and the importance and significance of the federal scheme in its relation to the unity of India—a consideration that has at all times been present to His Majesty's Government. It was to me regrettable that the outbreak of war and the impossibility of judging on what lines the war was likely to proceed should have left us with no option but to suspend our federal preparations; but the fact that those preparations have been suspended does not for a moment mean that His Majesty's Government have in any way

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Banquet at Baroda

modified their own view as to the necessity for securing Indian unity,—a unity which can only be complete if, in the constitutional arrangements of the future, the historic Indian States, with their great and special traditions, take the place which we have always looked forward to seeing them occupy.

I have noted with satisfaction the constitutional and fiscal reforms to which His late Highness gave effect in recent years and which are being actively implemented by yourself. May every success attend Your Highness' efforts in this direction.

I congratulate Your Highness on the conditions of prosperity and happiness which obviously prevail in your State and I note that in effecting reductions in your Civil List Your Highness has set a personal example of that prudent economy which enables resources to be conserved for the provision of improvements in the State which the masses of your people may enjoy.

In addition to the improvements your Highness has mentioned, which are of great importance. I have been impressed by the broad-minded policy adopted in Baroda in the matters of education, public health, agriculture, women's franchise, infant-welfare, cottage industries and other beneficial activities too numerous to mention now, but of which I have seen evidence during my stay in the State and in all of which Lady Linlithgow and myself have been deeply interested.

Baroda State has over 2,500 Schools, 109 medical institutions, including a very advanced General hospital, a mental and leper asylum, a justly famous library with its ancillary system of rural circulating libraries and a fine museum and art gallery. These public services are available gratis and have been provided concurrently with reduced taxation. The fact that in spite of such reduced taxation the gross revenue has actually increased clearly

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Session of the Chamber of Princes.

demonstrates that prudent economic policy is increasing the wealth of the State and its subjects.

I was grieved to learn of the distress caused in some parts of the State by the partial failure of the monsoon, but I have heard of the speedy measures of relief adopted and that this was rendered possible as a result of wise husbanding of the State's resources over many years by means of which a considerable Reserve Fund has been built up from which expenditure on such emergencies can be met without disorganising the normal functions of Government. I have in the past, impressed upon my Political representatives the desirability of encouraging such prudence in the Indian States with which they are in relations and I trust that the example set by Baroda will be widely followed.

I thank Your Highness once again for your cordial welcome and for the hospitality extended to Her Excellency and myself, my family and the members of my Staff—We shall carry away most pleasant recollections of our visit and in particular of the friendly feelings of Your Highness and Her Highness the Maharani.

Ladies and Gentlemen let me ask you to join me in drinking the health of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar and in wishing him a long and happy life.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
OPENING OF THE SESSION OF THE CHAMBER OF
PRINCES.

11th March
1940.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the opening of the Session of the Chamber of Princes on Monday, the 11th March 1940 :—

Your Highnesses,—It is, as you know, a very great pleasure to me to see you here again today, and to preside over your deliberations.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Session of the Chamber of Princes.

SINCE our last meeting we have to mourn the deaths of two Members of the Chamber, His Highness the Maharaja of Benares, and the Thakor Saheb of Dhroḥ; and of three members of the Representative Electorate—the Thakur of Bija, the Maharaja of Kalahandi and the Raja of Miraj Senior. It will, I am certain, be the wish of all Your Highnesses that we should take the opportunity of this meeting to express our deep sympathy with the relatives of the Rulers whose names I have mentioned, and that we should convey to their successors our sincere good wishes for the prosperity and the happiness of their States.

The most significant and the most important event since we met a year ago, the event of overwhelming concern to all of us here today is the outbreak of the war. His Majesty's Government, as Your Highnesses so well know, continued till the last moment to spare no effort to resolve the difficulties that had arisen in the international sphere by peaceful means. If in the result their efforts were unsuccessful they can at least feel that they had left nothing undone, and that no share of the responsibility for plunging the world into a conflict, the disastrous effects of which must last for many years to come, can fairly rest upon them.

The impact of the war has found the Princes of India, true to their traditions, staunchly loyal to His Majesty the King-Emperor. They have placed their forces, their personal services, and all their resources at the disposal of the Crown, and they have contributed in every way open to them to the Empire's cause. Those offers have, I can assure Your Highness, been most deeply and genuinely appreciated, and, as you are aware, in every case in which it has been possible to accept them, they have been accepted with deep and real gratitude. Many

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of the Rulers of the Indian States have expressed the utmost eagerness to be allowed to serve personally in the theatre of war. I sympathise sincerely with them in their disappointment that it has not as yet been found possible to take advantage of these offers of personal service. Your Highnesses will be aware that so far the course of hostilities has differed very materially from that of the last war ; up to the present there has been no substantial call on the man power of India. If conditions alter in this respect, Your Highnesses may rest assured that your offers, so deeply valued, will be remembered.

Since our last meeting many of Your Highnesses have had to face difficult problems consequent on the succession of poor monsoons which has visited so many parts of India ; and among those areas which have been particularly affected have been large tracts of Rajputana and Kathiawar. In the steps they have taken to meet this calamity, the Governments of all the important States concerned have made full and liberal use of their reserves, and they have devised wide-spread and well-organised plans for the relief of suffering. It is my earnest hope that this year the States affected will receive a timely and sufficient rainfall, and that the sufferings of the people and the anxiety of the States Governments will be brought to an end.

As Your Highnesses are aware, His Majesty's Government felt on the outbreak of war that in the conditions then prevailing and on a review of the probable course of hostilities, they had no option but to hold in suspense, however reluctantly, the work in connection with the preparations for Federation, while retaining Federation as their objective. But the suspension of those preparations does not mean that His Majesty's Government, to

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repeat the words which I used a month or two ago at Baroda, "have in any way modified their own view as to the necessity for securing Indian unity—a unity which can only be complete if, in the constitutional arrangements of the future, the historic Indian States, with their great and special traditions, take the place which we have always looked forward to seeing them occupy". Your Highnesses are well aware of my views on the question of Federation, and of its many advantages from the point of view not only of the Indian States but of India as a whole, and in particular of the unity of India. I am confident that you will appreciate the importance of continuing to apply your minds to this vitally important problem and to the questions that arise in connection with it.

When we last met I spoke very frankly and very directly to Your Highnesses on the subject of setting the houses of the States in order. I do not wish to repeat all that I said then. My view of the profound importance of action on the lines which I then indicated remains unchanged. Indeed if anything I regard it, in the light of developments over the last twelve months, as of greater importance now than I did when I addressed you in March 1939. I gratefully acknowledge that many Rulers have of late made earnest endeavours to improve their administrative standards, that various admirable reforms have been introduced, and that measures have in many cases been taken to ensure that all legitimate complaints on the part of State subjects receive due consideration. But I earnestly hope that Your Highnesses will not cease to give your continual and close attention to the perfecting of your administrative machinery. The value of administrative reform remains as great and as present as ever, and it would be rash to assume that troubles, where they have for the time being subsided, will not recur.

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That the Crown is anxious to give such help as it is properly incumbent upon it to give is clearly shown by the assistance rendered to various States in different parts of India, and by the establishment of the Crown Police Force, the object of which is, as you are aware, to assist the States Governments should the situation pass beyond their control. But I am sure that it is fully present to Your Highnesses that the maintenance of order in the territories of Indian States is primarily the responsibility of the Rulers concerned.

I would like to draw particular attention to the views I expressed last year as to the desirability and the importance of the creation of joint services where small States in the same group are unable individually to maintain an adequate standard of administration. I can well understand and sympathise with the reluctance of individual Rulers to depart in such matters from the strict path of tradition. But the spirit of the times makes it essential for them in their own interests to take a longer view. A beginning has been made in the organisation of joint services. It is in my judgment of vital importance that progress should be made in that direction, and it is my sincere hope that this movement will develop, and that I can look to you, gentlemen, who are members of this most important body, to do all in your power to encourage its growth. I have kept in the closest touch since we met last year with the action taken by States in various parts of India consequent on my address to the Chamber. You may be certain that the interest which I have taken in this matter and the care with which I follow all developments in connection with it, will not diminish in the time that lies ahead.

Since the last meeting of the Chamber, the reforms in its constitution, so strongly advocated by the great

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at Kapurthala.

majority of its members, have been carried into effect. I earnestly trust that those reforms will lead to greater harmony, to more effective work, and to closer co-operation between all States, whether great or small, for the good of the Princely Order, and the prosperity and welfare of the subjects of the Rulers. Let me only add that I have under my consideration the proposals which have been submitted to me by the Standing Committee for the enlargement of the Chamber.

Your Highnesses have many items on the agenda, and I will not keep you further from your deliberations. I trust that the session which begins today will be in every way successful, and that its results will be of value to Your Highnesses and to your States.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
STATE BANQUET AT KAPURTHALA.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the State Banquet at Kapurthala, on Friday, the 15th March 1940 :—

15th March
1940.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank Your Highness most heartily for the kind words with which you have proposed the health of Lady Linlithgow and myself. The warm welcome that you have given us here and the beauties of this unique place will always remain with us as very pleasant memories. Kapurthala Palace has a quality entirely its own. It is an island of French culture and taste, happily combined with *le confort anglais* ; it is a fascinating storehouse of pictures and mementoes of Your Highness' world-wide travels ; and, last but not least, it is a real home, the home of a happy and united family. Lady Linlithgow and I are indeed delighted to have had this opportunity of visiting you in

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at
Kapurthala.*

your State and thus continuing unbroken the chain of Viceregal visits to Kapurthala.

It is good of you to refer in such generous terms to my knowledge of India. I am grateful, too, to Your Highness for the references which you have been kind enough to make to my endeavours to contribute to the solution of the great constitutional problems of India. The anxiety of His Majesty's Government to see a solution of these problems consistent with the unity of India, consistent with the legitimate rights and interests of all concerned, and worthy of this great country and of its historic past, need no emphasis from me. If our endeavours have not hitherto met with success, that has not been for want of trying or for want of goodwill; and there is no one, as you know, who is more concerned than I am to see the difficulties that have prevented the achievement of our wishes surmounted.

I have also to thank Your Highness on behalf of Her Excellency for the kind remarks you have made about her. She has the welfare of India's millions very much at heart and is delighted with the generous support she has received from Your Highness in her campaign against the terrible scourge of tuberculosis.

I have been impressed during my visit with the progress made by Your Highness' administration in the "nation-building" departments and in particular with the success of your efforts to improve the breed of cattle and the standards of cultivation, animal husbandry, village hygiene and rural reconstruction generally. Your Highness is, I am sure, well aware that the prosperity of your predominantly agricultural State depends to a great extent upon a loyal and contented peasantry.

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the State Banquet at
Kapurthala.*

I am glad to learn that the Tika Raja is taking a prominent part in the administration on Your Highness' behalf. I feel sure that he is acquiring a first-hand knowledge of State affairs which will one day stand him in good stead.

The Empire is passing through a most critical phase of its long history, and the loyalty of the Princes of India was never more valuable or more appreciated. It is clear in this war, as in that of 1914—18, that Kapurthala is second to no State in its loyalty and devotion to the Crown and that Your Highness' martial subjects, by rallying to the Empire's call, are once more proving themselves true to the glorious traditions of the past. Under the able guidance of your gallant son, Major Maharaj-kumar Amarjit Singh, the State Forces are being brought up to the required standard of efficiency and are at any moment ready to answer any call that may be made upon them. In this connection I would like to congratulate Your Highness on your wise decision to accept the 1939 State Forces Scheme, the outstanding advantages of which you and your advisers evidently appreciate. I deeply appreciate the reference which Your Highness has just made to the tragic events of two days ago. This dreadful outrage has met with universal condemnation in India from every party and every class. In Sir Michael O'Dwyer India and the Empire lose a great and distinguished administrator whose interest in India remained unflagging to the end and who over the many years since he left this country was well known as a ready adviser and a warm friend of young Indians of whatever class or community who while in London turned to him for help. The deep sympathy of all of us will go out to Lady O'Dwyer and her family in the irreparable loss which they have suffered. I need not say how profoundly I share

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the relief which Your Highness has expressed at the providential escape of Lord Zetland, Lord Lamington and of Sir Louis Dane, all of them old and tried friends of India. I am glad to be able to say that the latest news I have of all the three is reassuring. Lord Zetland has sufficiently recovered to have returned to work, while Lord Lamington and Sir Louis Dane, according to the latest reports, are progressing favourably.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to rise with me and drink to the health of His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala and to wish him and his family all health and prosperity in the future. We trust that he may be spared for many years yet to continue to rule over a happy and contented people.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ST. JOHN
AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION AND INDIAN RED
CROSS SOCIETY.

26th March
1940.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and Indian Red Cross Society on 26th March 1940 :—

Your Excellency, Sir Ernest Burdon, General Jolly, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is always a great pleasure to me to preside over this Annual General Meeting of your two Societies, and to welcome this gathering of delegates from all parts of India, so many of whom have demonstrated their enthusiasm for the work which the Societies represent, by giving up their time and undertaking a long and troublesome journey to the Capital.

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India has not escaped the infection of the discords and rivalries which have disfigured the world's history and retarded its progress of late. Amidst all these, and in contrast to them, it is heartening to see two Societies, both of which had their beginnings in the strong desire to relieve the toll of suffering caused by war, going steadfastly forward, hand in hand, without competition, confusion or discouragement, jointly dedicated to the service of humanity, which so sorely stands in need of it today.

The work which your Societies have done in peace is admirable, but, inevitably, it is in time of war that the test and the strain is heaviest. It was therefore with particular attention that I read the reports and listened to the interesting summaries which have just been presented to us by Sir Ernest Burdon and by General Jolly of the work that has been accomplished during a year in which we have been living partly under the shadow of imminent war and partly in a state of war itself.

There is every cause for satisfaction with the work that these reports reveal, and especially the report of the Central Joint War Committee. It was no small task to bring the Mobilisation Plan so smoothly into operation, and those responsible for it, both at Headquarters and on the Provincial Committees, fully deserve the compliments which have been paid to them in the speeches we have heard. I am happy to feel that the work so well prepared and begun is continuing with the smooth efficiency we should expect under the able guidance of the Red Cross Commissioner.

The work of the Joint War Committee involves a close co-operation with Army Headquarters, and it was in that sphere that the willing help and counsel of

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General Tabuteau, whose loss we mourn today, made itself particularly felt. I will not add to the tributes you have already heard paid to him, except to say that no one more richly deserved the honour recently conferred upon him of admission to the rank of Commander of the Order of St. John.

It is a matter of regret to all of us that this is the last Annual General Meeting which Sir Ernest Burdon will be attending. Three years ago, the first of these meetings over which I presided, was also the first at which Sir Ernest was present as Chairman of the St. John Ambulance Association and as a Knight of Grace. In those three years the St. John Ambulance Association and the Brigade, no less than the Indian Red Cross Society, have advanced in India with great strides. It is no exaggeration to say that Sir Ernest's share in the responsibility for this development is a very large one. The quality of his work and of his enthusiasm for the welfare of your two organisations, with which he has been intimately associated for the last nine years, is well known to all of you ; but no one, I think, can realise quite how hard Sir Ernest has worked, who has not been constantly and closely in touch with the activities not only of the Red Cross and St. John, but of the various other charities, funds and benevolent institutions, with which Sir Ernest has been associated for a much longer period of time. His help has been invaluable. His energy, his balanced judgment and his ripe experience have combined to make him the ideal Chairman and Chief Commissioner. We shall miss him very much.

Mr. Badenoch, whom I have nominated to succeed him as Chairman, needs no introduction either to you

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or to the work and responsibilities which await him. As Honorary Treasurer of both organisations he has already to his credit much valuable work, and I am sure that he will prove an able successor to Sir Ernest Burdon.

I feel sure, too, that you would wish me to welcome today, on your behalf, General Jolly, to this his first General Meeting as Chairman of the Indian Red Cross Society, having succeeded General Bradfield in that capacity last September. General Jolly's ability and energy have already been tried and proved in several fields, and you need have, I think, little doubt that the direction of the activities of the Indian Red Cross Society is in safe hands.

You have listened to the speeches of the Chairmen, and you will have opportunity to study the reports of both organisations. There is no need for me to comment in detail on the activities of the past year, but there are one or two points among them, which particularly struck me and which I should like to mention. Dealing, first, with the St. John Ambulance Association and Brigade, I was delighted to hear that 1939 had been a record year of achievement, both in the field of instruction in First Aid and Home Nursing, and in increase of membership of the Brigade. 8,000 members does not sound a large number in this country of hundreds of millions, but it represents a leap forward in membership by 60 per cent. in one year. For this the war is no doubt responsible, but war or no war, let us hope that this increase will have set the standard for the years to come, for India has and will always have need of as many trained workers as she can get, of the type that are found in the St. John Ambulance Brigade. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the

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organisation of the Brigade on a territorial basis coinciding with Provinces, under the control of heads of Civil Medical Departments, has been completed. This arrangement, I am sure, will greatly assist to maintain the efficiency of the Brigade in India.

We may hope that there will be no call in India to put into practice A. R. P. and Anti-gas training provided by St. John Ambulance, but the importance of having ready a supply of volunteers skilled in such measures needs no emphasis from me. I have myself witnessed in Simla and been impressed by a demonstration of the results of this training. On that occasion so realistic was the air-raid arranged to try the mettle of the workers that it was necessary to warn the citizens of Simla beforehand, by beat of drum, to be of good cheer since the raid was not the real thing.

The Mobilisation Plan and the formation of the Joint War Committee made it inevitable and proper that the Red Cross and St. John Ambulance should share the burden of and the credit for much that has been accomplished during the past year. In particular I would like to mention the Women's Auxiliary Corps in Bombay, the numerous work parties that have been formed up and down the country, typical of which is the party that works so zealously here in Delhi under the guidance of Lady Cassels, and the organization of a Voluntary Aid Service of Nurses to supplement the Nursing Branch of the Army Medical Services. These are all solid achievements of great value, within the scope of both organisations.

Let me mention now some matters which pertain more particularly to the Indian Red Cross Society. I was most interested to hear of a Blood Transfusion Ser-

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vice in Bengal. This is an example which I hope will spread.

I hope, too, that the donation from the British National Institute for the Blind, which has been spent upon education work on the prevention of blindness, is a seed that will multiply a hundredfold. My appeal for funds for St. Dunstan's Hostel, and Sir Clutha Mackenzie's recent tour of India (though St. Dunstan's, of course, works only for the war blinded) have, I think, roused interest in the grave problem of blindness in this country and have perhaps inspired the hope that much might be done here by way of prevention, cure and after-care, in co-operation with the great institutions which already exist outside India for the purpose.

The growth of the Indian Red Cross Society is clearly a healthy one. Perhaps the clearest evidence that it is destined for still greater service in the India of the future is the continued development and expansion of the Junior Red Cross. This is in my opinion one of the aspects of Red Cross activities which deserves the greatest attention—so that the principles for which the Red Cross stands should be planted firmly in as many as possible of the youth of the country.

It is gratifying to note that the Society in India has been able to extend help to other parts of the world, which stood in need of it, and that two nurses in India have been awarded by the International Red Cross Committee the distinction of the Florence Nightingale Medal. This, and the fact that the war has not yet curtailed the normal peace-time activities of the Red Cross in India, betokens good organisation and reserves of strength. But there is no doubt that those reserves still need most urgently

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to be built up both in members and in funds, against a severer testing time which may yet be in store. The response by the public to my appeal for funds for the Red Cross and St. John Ambulance—which was greatly assisted by the willing co-operation of the Press—has been generous, especially considering the claims of other War Funds. But there can never be too much generosity in such a cause, and I feel sure that if and when the greater need arises it will be found that the springs of public support in India have barely yet been tapped.

Ladies and Gentlemen, once again I thank you for coming here today, and I wish you every success in the arduous and responsible duties which you have to perform. Your work is full of the greatest significance for the future of the world and of our civilisation. 80 years ago the sight of the dying and wounded lying uncared for on the bloody field of Selfering so impressed one man that he set in train the international conference which ended in the signing of the Geneva Convention, and the birth of the Red Cross. 700 years before that in Jerusalem, in the midst of the Crusades, the Poor Brotherhood of the Hospital of St. John was established as an Order of Knighthood, of which it was said that “amidst the noise and clashing of swords, and with a continual war upon their hands it was capable of joining the peaceable virtues of religion with the most distinguishing courage in the field”.

War is an evil thing, but out of war have arisen such symbols as the Red Cross of Geneva and the eight-pointed White Cross of St. John of Jerusalem, the arms of which represent the virtues of prudence, temperance, justice and fortitude. These are ancient symbols, and they have

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undoubtedly helped to lead the world along the paths of humanity and progress. The shadow of another symbol, not so humane, is now brooding over our civilisation. When it has passed, mankind will still need the services of those who work under the Red Cross and the Cross of St. John ; they will not be found wanting, and they will come to their work, I know, with strength renewed and with their chivalry untarnished.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S BROADCAST.

The following message was broadcast by His Excellency the Viceroy on Sunday, the 26th May 1940 :—

26th May
1940.

I would like to say a few words at this difficult moment when the military position in France is grave.

I cannot give you more news of that position than is already available to you in the public press and over the wireless. Nor can I attempt to forecast what the immediate military consequences may be. But I would like to say that I am proud, as I am sure that you are proud, that we have certain detachments from the Indian Army serving with the B.E.F. in this hour of supreme trial. We may be sure that in carrying out their duties they will nobly sustain the highest traditions of Indian armed forces, whose reputation for courage and devotion is second to none.

I said a moment ago that I am not able to foretell the immediate military consequences that may flow from the present strategical position in Northern France. I can however, and with all the confidence and conviction of which I am capable, assure you of this, that no difficulty, or loss, or disappointment, at this initial phase of the active

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campaign will turn us from our purpose of waging war against the enemy until the objects for which we drew the sword are secured. Let me remind you of the Prime Minister's speech delivered to the House of Commons only last week :

“ We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind. We have before us many many long months of struggle and suffering.....You ask what is our aim. I can give the answer in one word—it is victory—victory at all costs, victory in spite of all perils, victory however long and hard the road may be.”

Those were brave words. Let us, then, face the stark truth that we are now only at the outset of a long and arduous campaign, to be waged unceasingly by land, sea and air, a campaign which may indeed last as long as the Great War of 1914—1918, which will strain and test all our resources, both moral and material ; but a campaign the outcome of which, so long as we are true to ourselves, is going to be the triumph of right against the dark forces that threaten to overwhelm our civilization.

You and I are far away from the scene of those events that at present hold the attention of the world. Most of us desire to help—to do all that in our power lies to aid those who are bearing themselves so bravely in face of danger. India, whether British India or the Indian States, has already made a great and a most generous contribution, in men, in money, and in material to the conduct of the war, and to the attainment of ideals which have found the strongest public support from all classes in this country,—a contribution the magnitude and the importance of which has been recognised on every side. She, I know, will continue, in circumstances such as those that now confront us, to lend all the aid in her power to

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the triumph of a just and righteous cause. In the field of Defence in particular, you will have seen that in face of these grave happenings, immediate steps are being taken to secure the maximum expansion of our Defence Forces and Services (including the Indian Air Force) which may be practicable having regard to the limitations of our indigenous resources in material. Nor, I can assure you, shall any other effort be spared to respond to the anxiety so widely and so generally felt to contribute to the outcome of the war.

Let me tell you how, in respects other than material, our contribution can best be made, and let me appeal to each one of you tonight to make such a contribution.

First of all let us be steadfast in our faith that a cause such as ours cannot be beaten. None can subdue for long or throughout the world the spirit of man, for that spirit draws its ultimate impulse from God. Therefore let us take comfort and confidence, every one of us, from those profound beliefs which throughout the ages have been the unfailing support and inspiration of mankind.

So fortified, let us resolve to strengthen and steady those with whom we come into contact. Let us warn them against believing or repeating to others idle rumour or panic tale, both probably emanating from enemy sources.

Above all, let us count it in these testing times a sacred duty to the land we love to suppress all differences that divide us. They may be real enough, those differences, and in the fulness of time we may have once more to discuss policies designed to remove them. In that event, we shall all of us, whatever our opinions, be free to use our influence in accord with our consciences. Meantime, let us frankly recognise that this is no time for internal

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difference or dispute. Let us rather put away these things and give our minds and hearts to the service of the common weal. In unity let us find strength. Above all, let us guard and support public order and internal peace which in these times are indeed our most precious possessions.

Lastly, let me say a word, as man to man, to each one of you. Fear is the most potent of all foes, for it destroys not only the mind but also the spirit. Therefore set fear aside. Put away, too, all vague and shadowy doubts—those haunting demons of the mind that are the advance-guards of fear. India is an ancient land, and she has witnessed many storms. From her steady gaze, if you will look into her eyes, you may take this comfort, and learn again this age old truth, that the fiercest storm must in the end abate, and that darkest days give place in due season to clear skies and to light.

I have been amongst you now for many moons, both in good times and in heavy. No difficulties or disappointments have diminished my faith in the future of this great country, and that faith is as firm today as at any time. What India most needs now is selfless service for the people as a whole, without regard to class or creed. I will not spare myself in that cause. That will be easy for me, for I shall be labouring to the best of my capacity for those who have long commanded my respect and who now hold my affection. I know I shall not call in vain upon you for the best and truest service of which each one is capable.

Remember that, until I speak to you again—the watch-words are : Unity ; Courage ; Faith !

Good night, and may God be with you each and all.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S BROADCAST TO
INDIA ON WEDNESDAY.

The following message was broadcast by His Excellency the Viceroy to India on Wednesday, the 19th June 1940 :—

When I last spoke to you nearly a month ago I said "until I speak to you again, the watchwords are Unity, Courage, Faith".

Tonight I speak to you again at a time of trial heavier still. The situation in the West is still obscure. We do not yet know the precise turn events are taking. But it is clear that our gallant Ally, France, has on her own territory had to meet a strain which has been greater than her resources enabled her to cope with.

What are our intentions in this grave situation? I can put them in a word. The withdrawal of our allies, if that withdrawal is confirmed, does not in the very least degree affect the settled determination of His Majesty's Government to continue the struggle to defeat the enemy and to achieve the ideals for which we have been fighting. Save by the defeat of the enemy there is no hope of the achievement of those ideals, and no hope of survival of modern civilization, for the protection of which we have been prepared to make so many sacrifices. I am confident that the people of India will wholeheartedly endorse the determination of His Majesty's Government to prosecute this war until the safety of all those things for which we are fighting has been secured. The struggle will be a long and hard one. We must expect in its course to meet severe reverses, to undergo great sacrifices, to pass through many dark and difficult moments of doubt and apprehension. But the grave situation that confronts us is one that must be faced in the same spirit of resolute endeavour, of calm confidence, as has always been shown by us in grave emergency. So faced, it will be overcome, and victory will be won. We must bend every effort, all

His Excellency the Viceroy's Broadcast to India on Wednesday.

of us, each in our own way, to bring about that victory, to achieve the ideals for which we are fighting.

What of our preparedness in India, and what of the effect on India of these new developments ?

No effort has been spared to bring our defence arrangements to the highest pitch. You have heard yesterday of the programme of defence expansion on which we are engaged—a programme which I can assure you shall be urged on and developed to the utmost practicable limit, with all the personal help and interest that I can give it. We are actively pursuing possibilities of re-inforcing our equipment in this country by purchase from outside. You have heard that India is now sending a representative to work with the Greenly Mission in the United States. We are discussing with His Majesty's Government all possible methods of expanding our output, and of lending greater assistance still to the common effort. You may feel certain that nothing is being left undone to secure in the highest degree possible the safety of India against aggression.

What message have I for all of you in these dark days ? My message is—courage and confidence. There is no reason for any undue alarm, still less for panic. All of us in India can best serve the country's interests by going about our business in the ordinary way, mindful at all times of the great events that are happening, and of the contribution, direct or indirect, that we can make to them. There is no way in which harm can more easily, and more unconsciously, be done to India and to her interests than by yielding to the panic fears against which I uttered a warning when I spoke to you last month, those panic fears that, once admitted, so swiftly undermine the spirit, not only of the individual man and woman, but of the countryside.

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I know the anxiety of the ordinary citizen to do all that he or she can to contribute in their own way to maintaining public order within this country. The Governors and I have tried to respond to that desire by setting up recently organizations with which you are familiar. Let me only say tonight that I had always thought of these organizations as being wholly non-political and wholly non-sectarian. I am quite certain that that is what they will in practice prove to be, and that it is only on that basis that they can render the service for which they are designed. I trust that any misunderstanding there may have been in that regard will be removed by this assurance. My appeal was, and is still, to the individual citizens of every community to come forward and to make their contribution towards the greater security of their motherland.

I would urge you all once more to consider the importance of unity. Let me again appeal for the temporary sinking of political differences in this time of trial, and for united effort in which all parties can join for the common good. That political differences exist we all know only too well ; that there are deep differences of outlook, based on honest and sincere conviction. But at a time of trial such as the present I would hope that we could, all of us, come together in a way which would not take account of those political differences, and which would admit of the disputes regarding them being put aside, by common consent, until happier times. My own anxiety to see that consummation is well known to you. I have always been, and I remain today, ready and anxious to lend any help I can myself towards it.

Before I leave you, let me reaffirm the watchwords which I gave you when we were last together—Unity, Courage, Faith. Those are the pillars on which our

His Excellency the Viceroy addressed the Madras Provincial War Committee.

house must stand—those are the vital things in which we must repose our trust.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY ADDRESSED THE MADRAS PROVINCIAL WAR COMMITTEE.

30th July
1940.

His Excellency the Viceroy addressed the Madras Provincial War Committee on Tuesday, the 30th July 1940 and made the following speech :—

Gentlemen,—I am delighted that I should have this opportunity of meeting you this evening, of hearing how quickly you have got to work ; what you have accomplished so far, and what you intend for the future. This is the first occasion on which I have been privileged to meet a Provincial War Committee and I am grateful to you for the clear proofs you have given me of the patriotic and loyal co-operation, the energy, the keenness and determination with which the people of this Presidency and the citizens of this city have united to lend their services to the common cause.

I congratulate you on the admirable manner in which your Committee appears to have been organised. It is broad-based, I am happy to observe, and representative ; and this is exactly what I had hoped ; for, as I said not many days ago, I am sure that it is only when such organisations as yours are wholly non-political and non-sectarian that they can truly and efficiently render the service for which they are designed. It is only to be expected that Madras, in this as in other fields of war effort, would be in the front rank : but, Gentlemen, it is none the less a great encouragement to me to know that such a fine example has been set by you ; and if in other parts of India similar Committees have organised themselves and

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set about their duties with the enthusiasm that you have shown, we are already a long way on the road to achieving that greater security of the motherland, which is our goal.

The Reports of your Sub-Committees contain a number of important points which, in the short time available this evening, you will not expect me to discuss in detail. Every one of the proposals which you have made is evidence of that spirit which I find so heartening, that determination on your part to contribute your utmost to the winning of the War. The precise manner in which some of your proposals are to be met is not altogether free from controversy, but I can nevertheless assure you that they have all received and will receive the fullest and most sympathetic consideration from my Government. I have arranged that Mr. Dow, the Vice-President of the Supply Board, and Mr. Puckle, Director-General of Information, should pay a visit to Madras coinciding with my own, and I hope that you will take the opportunity which this affords of personal discussion with them of problems of common interest in the field of supply and the mobilization of industries, and of publicity.

I know how keenly you desire that this Presidency should have its full share in the present expansion of the Armed Forces of this country, a desire which does honour to the people of South India. That expansion is going forward as fast as the temporary limitations of equipment and training establishments will allow. Meanwhile it is a source of great satisfaction to me, as I am sure it is to you, to observe that recruitment to the Army in Madras in the last nine months has been over ten times as great as the normal annual recruitment from the Presidency. Two entirely new battalions—one Territorial and one Pioneer—have been raised, in addition to a new Mechanical Transport unit; and there will certainly be further large

His Excellency the Viceroy addressed the Madras Provincial War Committee.

demands on your man-power for Sappers and Miners, for Pioneers, for Signallers, and for more Mechanical Transport units,—all of them branches of the fighting Services in which I can confidently say that the people of this Presidency are second to none.

The doors of recruitment to the Indian Air Force on an all-India basis stand wide open and Madrassis are as eligible for all ranks of it as young men from other parts of India. The standards of selection are necessarily high, and I hope and trust that Madrassis will be well represented among those who are chosen.

Before I turn from this subject let me assure you again in the most emphatic manner that nothing will be left undone that can be done in connection with the expansion of the Indian armed forces or their equipment. It is as necessary to make provision for the munitions required in modern warfare as it is to raise the necessary forces. We are making every effort possible to make India as self-sufficient as may be, and we shall continue to do so. It is not sufficient to raise great forces : we have to be able to train them, and to train them by skilled personnel which itself takes time to train. In the field of supply, you are, many of you, gentlemen, familiar in connection with your private businesses with the extreme difficulty in present conditions of securing skilled technical labour, machine tools and technical machinery. Those factors have to be borne in mind. Nor, finally, can we overlook altogether the question of cost. It has been already stated that the expansion on which we are already working is to cost twenty crores : it is a matter of multiplication to gauge the cost to India of an expansion on the scale that many of us would like to see, and that so many of us have asked for. I have mentioned these difficulties,

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for it would not be fair not to touch on them. But let me assure you again that we are ready to grapple with them, and that they will not diminish our anxiety to see India in a position to play a part worthy of her history, and adequate to the dangers that confront her today.

Your Finance Sub-Committees and your District Committees are energetically engaged in raising funds for War Purposes. I am sure that their approach cannot fail to achieve very considerable results. I am the more confident of this when I consider that, in nine months, donations to my own War Purposes Fund, quite apart from those which have been made directly to the Indian Red Cross Society and St. John Ambulance Association, to St. Dunstan's, and to the various Funds which have been opened in the Provinces, have exceeded the sum of rupees one crore. As you know, I have not made any direct appeal for these contributions : I announced the opening of my Fund, and its existence has been advertised from time to time. But this remarkable result has been achieved by the entirely spontaneous gifts of loyal men and women from every class of His Majesty's subjects in this country ; from the richest as well as the poorest in the land. How much more then, surely, can your Committee and your District Committees achieve by a more direct and active approach to the generosity and the patriotism of the people of the Madras Presidency.

I wish to thank also your Propaganda Sub-Committee, which is preparing and issuing information in the form of pamphlets and posters. It is engaged in work of which I cannot too strongly emphasise the importance : iteration and reiteration is the secret of success in this field of your work ; the truth cannot be too often

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repeated. I assure you that you can rely on the utmost co-operation in this work from my Director-General of Information, and you should not hesitate to use to the full the organisation which he controls.

I cannot end my remarks to you without mentioning the importance of your Civic Guards. I have told you that I know full well how anxious the ordinary citizen is to do all that he or she can to contribute to the safety and to the maintenance of public order in this country. The raising of a Civic Guard provides that opportunity. Our defences are sound and let us hope that we have no enemy within our gates. But our defences have to be protected, and recent events in Europe have shown us that against the "fifth column" a nation that values its liberty can never be too well prepared. We have our army and we have our police, but the more assistance they can get the more effective will be the shield that they provide. I am sure that a trained and disciplined body of voluntary workers such as your Civic Guard should be, can give that assistance to a degree that is beyond measure valuable.

It remains for me only to repeat how happy I am to have had this opportunity of meeting and speaking to you. I need not say that I shall watch the progress of your work with the keenest interest. May God speed your endeavours and may every success attend them.

STATEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY.

Statement by His Excellency the Viceroy, issued on 8th August 1940.

8th August
1940.

India's anxiety at this moment of critical importance in the world struggle against tyranny and aggression to contribute to the full to the common cause and to the triumph of our common ideals is manifest. She has already made a mighty contribution. She is anxious to

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make a greater contribution still. His Majesty's Government are deeply concerned that that unity of national purpose in India which would enable her to do so should be achieved at as early a moment as possible. They feel that some further statement of their intentions may help to promote that unity. In that hope they have authorised me to make the present statement.

Last October His Majesty's Government again made it clear that Dominion Status was their objective for India. They added that they were ready to authorise the expansion of the Governor-General's Council to include a certain number of representatives of political parties, and they proposed the establishment of a Consultative Committee. In order to facilitate harmonious co-operation it was obvious that some measure of agreement in the Provinces between the major parties was a desirable prerequisite to their joint collaboration at the Centre. Such agreement was unfortunately not reached, and in the circumstances no progress was then possible.

During the earlier part of this year I continued my efforts to bring political parties together. In these last few weeks I again entered into conversations with prominent political personages in British India and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the results of which have been reported to His Majesty's Government. His Majesty's Government have seen also the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

It is clear that the earlier differences which had prevented the achievement of national unity remain unbridged. Deeply as His Majesty's Government regret this, they do not feel that they should any longer, because of these differences, postpone the expansion of the Governor-General's Council, and the establishment of a body which

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will more closely associate Indian public opinion with the conduct of the war by the Central Government. They have authorised me accordingly to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council. They have authorised me further to establish a War Advisory Council, which would meet at regular intervals, and which would contain representatives of the Indian States, and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

The conversations which have taken place, and the resolutions of the bodies which I have just mentioned, make it clear however that there is still in certain quarters doubt as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government for the constitutional future of India, and that there is doubt, too, as to whether the position of minorities, whether political or religious, is sufficiently safeguarded in relation to any constitutional change by the assurance already given. There are two main points that have emerged. On those two points His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear.

The first is as to the position of minorities in relation to any future constitutional scheme. It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based. His Majesty's Government's concern that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision has also been brought out. That remains the position of His Majesty's Government. It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government.

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The second point of general interest is the machinery for building within the British Commonwealth of Nations a new constitutional scheme when the time comes. There has been very strong insistence that the framing of that scheme should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life. His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire, and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed upon her and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility. It is clear that a moment when the Commonwealth is engaged in a struggle for existence is not one in which fundamental constitutional issues can be decisively resolved. But His Majesty's Government authorise me to declare that they will most readily assent to the setting up after the conclusion of the war with the least possible delay of a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life in order to devise the framework of the new constitution and they will lend every aid in their power to hasten decisions on all relevant matters to the utmost degree. Meanwhile they will welcome and promote in any way possible every sincere and practical step that may be taken by representative Indians themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement, firstly, on the form which the post-war representative body should take, and the methods by which it should arrive at its conclusions, and secondly upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself. They trust however that for the period of the war (with the Central Government reconstituted and strengthened in the manner I have described and with the help of the War Advisory Council) all parties, communities and interests will combine and co-operate in making a notable Indian

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contribution to the victory of the world cause which is at stake. Moreover they hope that in this process new bonds of union and understanding will emerge and thus pave the way towards the attainment by India of that free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth which remains the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH TO THE
BOMBAY WAR COMMITTEES AT BOMBAY.**

13th August
1940.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech to the Bombay War Committees at Bombay on Tuesday, the 13th August 1940 :—

Your Excellency and Gentlemen,—I am most grateful to you for giving me this opportunity of meeting you this evening and of hearing from you personally the creditable and most promising record of work done by your Committees up to date. I have, since your Committees were formed, been kept closely in touch with that work and have followed its progress with keen interest ; but it is far more easy for me to appreciate, through personal contact with the men on the job, the manner in which they are setting about it.

In the short time that your Committees have been organized you have already achieved a great deal, and I find it most encouraging to observe the spirit with which you have applied yourselves to your important tasks. I was particularly glad to hear from Your Excellency of the most valuable work which is being done in the districts.

I am delighted to notice the representative character of your Committees. The work on which you are engaged is of vital national importance—no less than the defence and security of this great country. Let us not under-

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Committees at Bombay.*

estimate the task before us, but rather pledge ourselves to devote all our resources, spiritual as well as material, and all our energies to the high purpose of victory. Here in India we may all of us take heart and courage from the certain knowledge that the whole of this great country—with a degree of unanimity which is immensely significant—is with us in our determination at all cost to preserve India from the malignant influence of Nazi power. You will have read in the Statement which I was authorised to make last Thursday, of the desire of His Majesty's Government to promote in India that unity of national purpose which will enable India to make, in full measure, the great and worthy contribution to the common cause which it is in her power to make, and of the steps which I propose to take to that end. I am convinced that all who serve on War Committees, here in Bombay City, in the districts and elsewhere throughout India, must lay aside all political and sectarian prejudices if they are well and truly to perform the task for which the Committees are designed. They must work, as I am sure you are working, united by a single purpose—the defence of the Commonwealth by the winning of this war.

It has been a real disappointment to me that the very inclement weather of today made it necessary to cancel the inspection of the Civic Guards of your City to which I had so much looked forward. I have, however, heard good reports of them, and I must congratulate you on the raising of such a fine body of volunteers, every man of them keen and alert and determined to bear his share in the maintenance of public order and security. I cannot too strongly emphasize the importance of the work which these loyal citizens are doing—in Bombay and in other districts of the Presidency—in training themselves to supplement the defences of the country. No matter how strong those

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Committees at Bombay.*

defences may be, they will gain immeasurably in strength when they have behind them a civic body, stout-hearted, trained and disciplined, ready to take its due place and to play its important part in the protection of the motherland from the threat which today hangs like a dark cloud over half the world.

The reports of your various Committees, which I have just heard, contain a number of interesting points, all of which you will not expect me to discuss in detail this evening. They will, I need hardly say, be considered with all the care and sympathy they deserve, and I can assure you that I, and the departments of my Government which are concerned, are most ready to receive the suggestions which you may make now and hereafter, and which require our co-operation, and that we will give the utmost assistance in our power towards the furtherance of your objects.

There is one matter, however, which I should like to mention—a matter which is of very great concern to all of us—I refer to the expansion of the Indian Armed Forces and of India's war effort in the production of munitions and equipment and in the field of supply. We would—most of us—like to see an army of a million men called into being to defend these shores, as it were, at a word of command. Your impatience to see this accomplished is natural, and the desire of this Presidency to bear its full share in the expansion does you credit. Bombay Presidency has already supplied nearly 10,000 recruits since the outbreak of war, and I know that the supply of manpower is far from exhausted. I assure you that everything possible is being done and will continue to be done, not only to recruit and train the forces which the country needs as quickly as temporary limitations of equipment will allow, but to make India as self-sufficient as possible to

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arm, equip and supply those forces. I have myself seen factories in this country, where the lathes are turning and the machines working night and day, and thousands of men are engaged in turning out munitions and other material of war in ever-increasing quantities. It is an inspiring sight ; and it is only a beginning. One cannot produce modern armies, springing fully armed and equipped from the ground, by a simple order to the recruiting sergeants. Their equipment and their training takes time. Equipment is the limiting factor, and in this field we are still short of machinery and of skilled men to use it. But we are in process of overcoming these difficulties. Once they are removed, expansion will be possible to the full measure of our requirements.

Let me turn now to the work of your various Committees. I am exceedingly glad to learn that His Excellency the Governor's War Gifts Fund is making such good progress, and I trust that the energetic approach of the Committee which is in charge of this Fund (generously assisted as it is by the Press) will secure a contribution commensurate with the size and the importance of this Presidency.

The main object to which you have decided to apply the money you raise—a fighter squadron for the Indian Air Force—is well-chosen to appeal to the public imagination, and one which is clearly and directly related to the defence of these shores. As you know, arrangements are in train to make aircraft available for the expanded Indian Air Force, and let us hope it will not be long before one of the new Squadrons is proudly carrying the name of this Presidency. A fighter squadron, with reserves, costs nearly 34 lakhs of rupees, and a single fighter plane costs nearly a lakh and a half. Let each town and group of villages

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see whether it can produce the means to supply a fighter plane : let Gujarat vie with the Carnatic to see which can first produce a flight or more of aircraft, and you will soon have one squadron, if not two or three.

I trust that the figures of investment in Defence Loans will soon be more encouragning, and I shall certainly see that the suggestions which you have made for improving the position in this respect are at once carefully considered. Investment to assist war effort should appeal not only to the rich man, but to the man of more moderate means who cannot afford to give his money for the cause as freely as he can lend it. Spontaneous gifts from all classes of people, ranging from several lakhs of rupees to a few annas, have amounted, in the case of my own War Purposes Fund to a remarkable total of over one crore of rupees in less than 10 months ; the donors were those whose ready patriotism needed no appeal to make their offering to the common cause. This city and the districts of the Presidency can claim many wealthy citizens, and I am encouraged to believe that, when they are reminded by your appeals that a loosening of their purse-strings for gift or loan will hasten the ultimate victory, they (and not only the wealthy, but every man according to his means), will respond in a manner worthy of your traditional liberality.

Your War Publicity Committee has been very active. I think, if I may say so, that your idea of installing a loudspeaker system to convey to the public a continuous supply of straight news, is an admirable one, and I have arranged that it should be commended to the attention of Committees in other parts of India. Lies and alarmist rumours will only prevail if people do not hear the truth often enough. There is no discouragement in the truth

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Bishop Cotton School.

and it is important for India that it should be told, in Bombay, again and again ; for I need hardly remind you, Gentlemen, that what Bombay says, or what Bombay believes today, has echoed right round this sub-continent by tomorrow.

And now, Gentlemen, I thank you once again for letting me hear your views and your record of achievement, and for letting me speak to you this evening. I shall continue to watch your work and its results with the greatest interest. I wish you every success, and so must every man and woman in this country, for you are part of that great endeavour which is going to win this war for decency and civilisation. Good Luck to you all.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
BISHOP COTTON SCHOOL.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Bishop Cotton School, Simla, on Saturday, the 7th September 1940 :—

7th September
1940.

Your Excellency, Your Grace, My Lord Bishop, Mr. Sinker, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have listened, Mr. Sinker, with close attention to your recital of the position and achievements of Bishop Cotton School for the last 12 months. I congratulate all concerned upon what has evidently proved to be a highly successful year.

I am truly grateful for your donation towards my War Purposes Fund. Let me assure you, too, that I am mindful of the sacrifices made by all of you, of your own free will, in that public spirited effort.

As this war proceeds, one of its consequences has been to demonstrate to all of us how small this world of ours is coming to be. Fifty or sixty boys in England find that the excitements of war and the spectacle of Spitfire

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fighter planes chasing the enemy across the skies distract them from their studies, so they pop over to Bishop Cotton School, Simla, to enjoy a little peace and quiet. I am glad you are able to take them in and feel sure they will prove themselves worthy of your hospitality.

The news that the Headmaster is able to give us of the Preparatory School is most satisfactory. I trust it may continue as it has begun.

May I say that it was a real pleasure to my wife and myself to see the School choir at our house at New Delhi at the time of our daughter's marriage. We are very grateful for their most valuable help in the service. The occasion constitutes, we feel, an intimate and permanent link between Bishop Cotton School and ourselves.

You have reminded me, Mr. Sinker, that this is the last time I shall have the pleasure of attending the Annual Speech Day of the School. Five years is not a long time in the history of a School, but it is a considerable span in our individual lives. It is, I suppose, just about the measure of the average boy's stay at this School, so that those of you who are now about to leave Bishop Cotton and to experience the great change in your lives which your departure hence must bring, were at the beginning of your school careers when in 1936 I first made your acquaintance. We came together and together we leave. We are in the same boat and have a fellow feeling for each other. May I, then, be allowed to wish you boys who are about to go from Bishop Cotton School the very best of good fortune. You will find that the sound education that has been given to you here will stand you in good stead whatever your profession is to be, and wherever you go. You will discover, too, before you have been long away from these familiar scenes, that the traditions of the School and the impress of your life here upon your outlook and character are going—if you will stand true to

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the spirit of Bishop Cotton—to help you just as much as the knowledge you have acquired. You will of course make mistakes. That is the way we all come to learn. You can't help errors, but you can do a great deal by the exercise of your own will-power to shape your way of life and your own attitude towards the world and your fellow creatures. From the very start of your careers you will have to decide one issue of supreme importance in which your resolve will colour and condition your whole lives. It is a very simple and straightforward issue—whether, in whatever you attempt, you are going to do as little as you need, or as much as you can. Don't think that I am asking you to turn your back on a reasonable share of leisure, recreation or amusement. But make no mistake! If you want to go to the top of any profession, you must put in the extra bit of time and effort that will lift you above the ruck. Effort is the thing that counts most because it is effort that improves your capacity and which is capable of bringing out from the caverns of the mind those latent powers of which the person possessing them is often quite unaware. It is only through the struggle to do better that such powers emerge upon the surface and become part of the mental equipment, ready at call to do their service.

Beware of natural facility in any particular direction, unless such facility is developed and buttressed by hard and continuous effort. Fond parents have been known to mistake a modest facility for budding genius, and so most grievously to aggravate the mischief. But indeed, in any activity a gulf yawns between facility and ordinary competence, which can only be bridged by hard and persistent effort. Nor does that most rare complex of qualities which constitutes genius disclose itself except through the unremitting labour of its possessor. I think it worth while to mention this, lest any one of you who suspects himself

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of possessing these superior powers of which I have been speaking should be led into the error of supposing that his gifts excuse him from the need and duty of doing his utmost.

If you want to make the best of life and to enjoy it to the full, make up your minds to tackle it in the spirit in which a Bishop Cotton XI, tackle a game of football or cricket. Do your best whether you have an audience or not. If you feel that some job you have done falls short of your best, tear it over and start afresh. Nothing is good enough unless it be the best you can do. You are going into the world at a difficult time. You will probably witness profound changes in many directions. Some persons may try to persuade you that in a world of change, none of the old—the established—things are worth bothering about. I beg you to receive advice of that kind with a pinch of salt. You will, of course, be men of your own time and generation. But I would nevertheless counsel you to be very sure of your ground before you reject or cast away those things or standards which embody the accumulated experience of many generations of men. Above all, be of good heart ! Neither cast down by failure nor too much elated by success. Please, in moments of difficulty or trial always remember that those who have known and loved you here through these years which you will come to look back upon as amongst the happiest in your lives, will never believe that you could fall short of those ideals which are the heritage of every boy who passes through Bishop Cotton School. We believe in you, we count upon you, and we know that wherever you go or whatever you do, you will not disappoint our hopes.

It has, I can assure you, been a great pleasure to my wife and myself to attend, year by year, this occasion of your Speech day. In bidding you farewell, we would ask

Address by His Excellency the Viceroy, at the Presentation of the New School Colour to the Lawrence Royal Military School, Sanawar.

a blessing upon the work of Bishop Cotton School, and wish you all, Headmaster, Staff and boys, the best of good fortune in the time to come.

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AT
THE PRESENTATION OF THE NEW SCHOOL
COLOUR TO THE LAWRENCE ROYAL MILITARY
SCHOOL, SANAWAR.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech when presenting New School Colour to the Lawrence Royal Military School, Sanawar, on Saturday, the 14th September 1940 :—

14th September 1940.

Mr. Principal, Members of the Staff, Boys and Girls of the Lawrence Royal Military School.—I count it a great honour to present to you today this newly consecrated colour. When colours were first presented to the School by Lord Dalhousie nearly 88 years ago, our grandfathers, at the beginning of the second half of the 19th century, were facing the future with a certain degree of complacency and self-satisfaction, which the onset of war in the Crimea and of troubles in this country was soon to disturb.

In 1922, when those first colours were replaced by new ones, the British Empire, with its Allies, had recently emerged victorious from the greatest test to which it had till then been subjected : and now, for the third time you are receiving a new school colour in a year which will prove, I believe, to be one of the greatest landmarks in our history—in the history of civilisation itself.

From this crisis, too, we shall emerge victorious, I have no doubt : and, please God, we shall have shed all complacency and be purified in spirit and strengthened in our resolve to build a new and better world.

Speech by His Excellency the Viceroy to the Thailand Goodwill Mission at Viceregal Lodge, Simla.

For this purpose the world will surely need young men and women imbued in full measure with that strength of character which it was the object of your School's great founder to produce. It will call for hard and unremitting work, great faith, steadfastness of purpose, discipline and loyalty ; loyalty not only to an earthly ruler, but to the principles for which we are now fighting, and to God. Of such loyalty this colour is the emblem and, in the spirit in which we have just prayed, may it ever inspire you and those who will come after you to prepare yourselves for service in the cause of justice and righteousness.

SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY TO THE THAILAND GOODWILL MISSION AT VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA.

3rd October
1940.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech to the Thailand Goodwill Mission at Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on the 3rd October 1940 :—

It is my pleasure and privilege this evening on behalf of the King-Emperor to welcome you, Captain Luang Dhamrong Navasvasti and the other Members of the Thailand Goodwill Mission, to the summer capital of the Government of India. My Government would have liked to have been able to entertain you yourselves at the winter capital of Delhi, where it would have been easier to show you things of greater interest than can be seen here in the Himalaya Mountains, but the exigencies of your programme made this impossible. None the less I am profoundly gratified to learn that you intend to visit Delhi, where you will find, gathered in proximity to the buildings of India's new capital, the monuments of many centuries of Indian civilization and history, and where I know that the Head of the Delhi Province will

Speech by His Excellency the Viceroy to the Thailand Goodwill Mission at Viceregal Lodge, Simla.

endeavour to give you such insight as is possible into the workings of the administration of the Imperial capital.

2. I hope too that you will find your visit to the North-West Frontier of India and to Bombay interesting as well as pleasant. On the North-West Frontier you will be able to see something of India's problems on her land frontier, and in Bombay and Calcutta two of the great ports of Asia. You may be certain that you will receive from the people of the Provinces you visit the warmest and most sincere of welcomes. I could only have wished that time had permitted of your undertaking a tour still more extensive, for I can assure you of the depth of the interest which your friendly visit has called forth throughout India, and of the anxiety of the people of this ancient land to do all honour in their power to the representatives of your famous State, so closely joined with India by so many historic and cultural links.

3. It is not often that we have the privilege of welcoming a Cabinet Minister of another Government to India, and I can assure you that the peoples of India are proud of the opportunity of showing some of the sights and problems of their great country to the emissaries of a State with which the whole British Empire, as well as India, have always enjoyed such happy relations. The most recent proof of this lies in the Non-aggression Treaty between Great Britain and Thailand, from which we may draw renewed confidence that the well-established traditions of friendship and goodwill between Thailand and the countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations will stand firm through these difficult times. The heritage of Thailand, which I know means the land of the free, is one of peace and neutrality, and we in India cannot but regard the visit of Your Excellency's Mission as offering us fresh assurance that that heritage will not be forgotten.

Speech by His Excellency the Viceroy to the Thailand Goodwill Mission at Viceregal Lodge, Simla.

4. I can only hope that, when Your Excellency's Mission leave India, you will carry with you the memory of a great and hospitable people, whose history and aspirations, in common with those of Thailand, will always incline them to seek and maintain that spirit of peace and goodwill towards friendly neighbours, which your Mission is so admirably designed to promote.

His Excellency Captain Luang Navasvasti, replying to the toast, said :—" May I thank Your Excellency on behalf of myself and on behalf of the other members of Thailand's special Goodwill Mission for the honour, the best wishes and the kind welcome Your Excellency as well as the Government of India have extended to us, in a most cordial and hospitable manner. Our Mission, as Your Excellency may well be aware, is to render closer and more cordial still, the friendly relations between our two countries. It is the sincere wish of His Majesty's Government of Thailand, after the conclusion and ratification of the Anglo-Thai Non-Aggression Pact, to promote and strengthen the traditional ties of friendship so happily existing between Thailand and the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the Government of Thailand are happy therefore to take this opportunity of sending this special Goodwill Mission to India.

" I assure Your Excellency, although we arrived in India only a few days ago, yet already we are very much impressed by the cordiality, hospitality and kindness shown to us everywhere. Here in Simla, I have the privilege and great pleasure to have the charming company of Your Excellencies, of the Hon'ble members of the Council and other high dignitaries of the Great Empire, and through the personal contact and interchange of ideas, I am happy to say that noticeably and forcibly we are tendering for each other the kind feeling and thoughts as well as mutual understanding and sympathy,

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the laying of the Foundation-stone of the Maharaja Harisingh Hospital at Srinagar (Kashmir).

which will effect closer co-operation much to the benefit, prosperity and happiness of both our peoples.

“ May I thank Your Excellencies as well as those concerned, for the great interest shown in our Mission and the trouble taken in giving me and other members of the Mission every facility, comfort and happiness, whilst we are in this great country. I have nothing but to assure Your Excellency that in our visits to Delhi, the North-West Frontier of India, to Bombay and Calcutta, apart from being very pleasant, as they would certainly be with Your Excellency's and the authorities kind arrangements, whose grace of hospitality I have found proof everywhere to be beyond all doubt, I shall meet with problems of widely varied interest such as cannot be found elsewhere. I shall retain a most pleasant memory to bring home to my Government and to my people of my happy sojourn in this great and highly cultural country, whose people are friendly and hospitable in every way. May I also reciprocate Your Excellency's hope that whereas India and Thailand have always been in peaceful, friendly and close relationships from time immemorial, through this our personal contact, both our countries and their people will always maintain the spirit of peace and goodwill so happily established.”

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY MADE THE FOLLOWING SPEECH AT THE LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF THE MAHARAJA HARISINGH HOSPITAL AT SRINAGAR (KASHMIR).

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the laying of the Foundation-stone of the Maharaja Harisingh Hospital at Srinagar (Kashmir) on the 15th October 1940.

*You Highness, Dewan Bahadur Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Ladies and Gentlemen,—*The laying of the

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the laying of the Foundation-stone of the Maharaja Harisingh Hospital at Srinagar (Kashmir).

foundation-stone of a great hospital is such a significant landmark of peaceful and humanitarian progress in a civilised country, that it gives me particular pleasure to have the opportunity of performing this ceremony, at a time when we are all engaged in a bitter struggle to defend humanity and civilisation against the forces of destruction. Especially satisfactory is it to know that the hospital of which I am about to lay the first stone will be the pinnacle of a well-planned and broadly based organisation of medical services throughout the wide and difficult territory of this State.

I was most impressed by the figures which you, Sir, quoted, showing a great increase, during the last 15 years, in expenditure on medical facilities, and showing also the very practical results which that expenditure has achieved, in that it has enabled over sixteen hundred thousand patients to be treated this year, nearly twice as many as in 1925. To my mind this reflects not only an improvement in medical facilities, but, what is more important, an increase of confidence in the benefits of modern medicine, on the part of those shy and conservative people who dwell in the remoter villages of this State. This is no mean accomplishment, and all that I have heard of today, the rapid expansion of this medical organisation ; the sound policy on which it has been based ; the interesting use which is being made of subsidised practitioners ; the legislation which I understand is being considered for the control and licensing of practitioners ; the steps taken to build up a State cadre of skilled medical men and specialists—in which, may I say in passing, I hope that the Delhi Medical College scheme will prove eventually to be of assistance—and the big new hospital which is already

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Eastern Group Conference at Delhi.

being built at Jammu ; all this has convinced me, if I may say so, of the energy and imagination with which His Highness the Maharaja has been directing this great and important development since his accession 15 years ago.

On an occasion such as this I should like to pay a tribute to the excellent work in the medical field which has been done in the past and is still being done in Kashmir by the Mission Hospitals. They have indeed played an important and valuable part in the development of institutional treatment, and their share in the medical system which has been built up in the State is a worthy one.

The Maharaja Harisingh Hospital will, I am sure, in its size, modernity and the benefits which it will bring to the people it serves, prove to be one of the great hospitals of India. I am glad that it will bear the name of an enlightened ruler and that it will stand for ever as a symbol of wise and far-sighted expenditure in difficult times, a reminder of the fact that, when the resources and financial effort of the State were being mobilized and freely given for the common cause in the prosecution of the war, the cause of humanity and of the relief of suffering were not forgotten in Kashmir.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
OPENING OF THE EASTERN GROUP CONFERENCE
AT DELHI.**

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the opening of the Eastern Group Conference at Delhi on Friday, the 25th October 1940 :—

25th October
1940.

Gentlemen,—The need for a Conference such as this has long been apparent to those who have studied the organisation of the British Commonwealth of Nations for

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Eastern Group Conference at Delhi.

a protracted War ; and from the ready response to the invitations which I was recently authorised by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to send out, I judge that other Empire Governments in this part of the world are as eager as the Government of India to make the Conference a living part of our War effort. India may congratulate herself on her fortunate geographical position ; for her the occasion is historic, and on behalf of my Government and the people of India I extend a very cordial welcome to the visiting Delegations. I also welcome the Ministry of Supply Mission whose opportune arrival in India will enable the Conference to benefit by the advice of Sir Alexander Roger and his colleagues. I am glad, too, to think that we shall have available to us the advice of the strong and representative body of non-official advisers from India who are present here today.

I would not have it thought here or elsewhere that the holding of the Conference implies any failure of the members of the " Eastern Group " of Empire countries to help one another in the War effort. Indeed, we in India have been much impressed by the eagerness of other Empire Governments to help us, and we hope that we for our part have done our best to meet such demands as they have made upon us. What the Conference does imply is something very different—a determination not merely to help one another, but to pool our resources so that we may as a group of Governments and countries put forth the greatest material War effort that we can.

The idea underlying the Conference is by no means new ; it arises from the Imperial Conference of 1937. But its urgency has been borne in upon us more particularly during the past six months. Many of the countries

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Eastern Group Conference at Delhi.

represented here played a great part in the War of 1914—18, contributing without stint men, money and material. In that War, however, material resources, though of great importance, were considerably less important than they are today, and it is probably true that the outlying Empire countries concentrated very largely upon man-power and the simpler forms of equipment, relying upon the highly organized industries of the United Kingdom and her Allies to do the rest. When the present War began we knew that conditions would be very different, but we could not foresee the fall of Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium ; and the destruction of France as a military power and ally in Europe. The British Empire now fights alone, and must not only find the men and material to defend the United Kingdom against invasion, but provide for the defence of her outlying members, and for the equipment of the remnants of the forces of her conquered Allies. This Conference, therefore, while having a precedent in the Imperial Conference of 1937, nevertheless falls into a category almost unique in the political experience of the British Commonwealth. It represents the active collaboration of a part of the Commonwealth in the interests of the whole ; it implies that those parts of the Empire which lie east and south of Suez are about to investigate the assumption of new responsibilities, which will lighten the burdens on the Mother Country at a time when she is preoccupied with difficult problems peculiar to the present phase of the War ; and it reflects those qualities of resiliency and adaptability which are a characteristic feature of our political institutions, for it means that those units of the Commonwealth which are situated in the Eastern hemisphere are ready and willing to associate themselves with policies in which self-interest and self-assertion are relegated to

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Eastern Group Conference at Delhi.

second place in face of the menace that is confronting the Commonwealth as a whole. The spread of the War in the direction of the Middle East cannot disrupt the political integrity of the Commonwealth, because that integrity is rooted in freedom and justice which are component elements of that political philosophy which imbues all sections of the Commonwealth. A threat to any part of the Commonwealth is a threat to the whole and the immediate danger is being faced at present in the Mother Country. In this situation our first plain duty is to relieve the United Kingdom of such of her burdens as we can bear ourselves, and I suggest that we can best do this by preparing a joint scheme showing clearly how far, viewed not as individual Governments and countries, but as a group, we are capable of meeting our own War needs and of supplying in increasing measure the war needs of the United Kingdom.

The task of the Conference is, in brief, the preparation of such a scheme, and my Government and I are under no illusions as to the complexity of your deliberations. All or almost all the countries represented here are producers of raw materials ; some are fortunate in possessing more or less highly organized industries ; and some are able to manufacture munitions of War on a fairly large scale. It will be for the Delegations to declare the strengths and weaknesses of their respective countries, and for the Conference as a whole to say how far the deficiencies of one country can be made good by the actual or potential surplus of another. It is possible that in respect of certain items of supply no planning may be needed ; but there will, I believe, be room for planning and " rationalization " over a very wide field. The Conference clearly cannot stop short at recommending a comparatively easy exchange of raw materials and manufactured articles ; it will have to

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consider the position of the participating countries as a group and the best methods of making the group self-supporting. You may find when you come to consider the establishment of new manufactures, that it is convenient that one or more countries within the group should concentrate upon particular items, and that some general allocation of industrial responsibility will be inevitable. Again, you may find that all the countries in the group are short of certain essentials, and the means of securing these will have to be planned.

The procedure by which the Conference will approach and solve these important problems is, of course, for the Conference to decide. Many of the problems to be discussed are, in their detailed aspects, a matter for experts, and I should like to make it clear that my Government intends to make available to individual Delegations and to the Conference as a whole all the expert assistance at its command whether of an official or non-official character. India is frequently described as a bureaucratic country, but we rely greatly both in peace and in war on the co-operation of organised industry, and I acknowledge now with gratitude the readiness and generosity with which Indian industry has responded to our war-time needs. The services of experts engaged in industry have been at our disposal from the first, and I am glad to think that so many of the gentlemen who have devoted so much time and thought to production problems since the War began have come to New Delhi to advise the Conference and its various Committees. Our own official experts are also available, particularly on the more specialized side of Munitions Production ; and I am sure that I am speaking for Sir Alexander Roger when I say that his very capable team will give all the help they can.

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It would be idle to expect that the scheme to be drawn up by this Conference will be so complete and detailed that it will leave nothing to be settled by the participating countries. It will, we all hope, be a clear enunciation of policy and principles, but there will inevitably be a great mass of detail to be settled after the Conference disperses. One of the objects of the Conference is therefore to consider the establishment of a Standing Committee to see that the Conference policy is acted upon with promptitude and energy. Whether this Committee can be of real use, as my Government believes, what countries should be represented upon it, and when it should be established, are matters for the Conference to consider.

What I have said so far relates entirely to War Supply, and the Conference will doubtless deal with War Supply and nothing else. We know, however, that some visiting Delegations desire to make use of the facilities available here for the discussion of wider economic issues, and my Commerce Department will be most ready to undertake such discussions with them.

Before I leave you to your deliberations, let me add that if the members of any Delegation desire while they are here to see something of this great country, with its great resources of raw materials and its growing industries, my Government will be only too glad to provide the necessary facilities. This is not an occasion for salesmanship or advertisement, and there is serious work ahead of us all. But some of those present may, as the deliberations of the Conference proceed, find it necessary to acquire at first hand some knowledge of India's capabilities; and others who can spare the time may wish to carry away with them impressions not limited to the restricted circle of New Delhi.

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the
Eastern Group Conference at Delhi.*

I have said that there is serious work ahead of us all. The brunt of the War has so far fallen upon the United Kingdom, and our hearts go out in sympathy and admiration for the steadfast courage of its people, and of those who have been called upon to defend its shores. If this Conference enables us to do more than we have yet done to protect the life of the Commonwealth if within the next few months we are able to feel that our united efforts are enabling us to exert our undoubted strength to the full then we shall not have laboured in vain. I am satisfied that we have it in our power, working together, to make towards the common cause a contribution which is destined to be of the greatest value, and which may indeed prove to be decisive. But if results of the highest value are to flow from our joint endeavours, it is evident that our contribution must be timely as well sufficient, for, in War, speed is near to victory.

As I have already indicated it is a new conception of our Commonwealth ideals which will be reflected in your deliberations here. There is something significant, even dramatic, in the thought of Great Britain bravely bearing the brunt of the enemy's attacks while her kinsmen and associated peoples in the East are marshalling their forces for that ultimate victory which will bring an end to aggression and to that depravity of the soul which accompanies totalitarianism. Those Empires of the past which have fallen have generally fallen from some inherent defect from within. That is not likely to be the fate of the comity of peoples represented by the British Commonwealth. The British elements within that comity have a common heritage to defend, and the sister peoples associated with it also derive their aspirations from the traditions we seek to uphold. Together, we represent varying degrees of that political philosophy which permeates the whole, but

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Eleventh Meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation.

the common denominator of all is faith in freedom and a belief in those things of the spirit which make peoples truly great. Thus what we seek to do here is not something that will redound only to our credit as individual units of a world-wide Empire ; rather should it reflect the firm expression of our living faith in the splendid heritage which we enjoy as members of an association of liberty-loving peoples.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
OPENING OF THE ELEVENTH MEETING OF THE
CENTRAL BOARD OF IRRIGATION.

4th November
1940.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the opening of the Eleventh Meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation on 4th November 1940 :—

Gentlemen,—I am most grateful to you for having invited me once more to open your Annual Meeting. My interest in agriculture, and in the welfare of the Indian cultivator in particular, is keen and abiding, and it therefore gives me a very special sense of pleasure to have this opportunity of meeting and speaking to those on whom, in this country, the fruitfulness of the land so largely depends.

When I last had the privilege of addressing you four years ago, your Board was six years old. This month sees its tenth birthday, and the thriving youngster seems, if I may say so, to have maintained its early promise of healthy development and useful activity.

On your Board are represented engineers from all parts of India, in whose able hands rests the administration of one of the greatest systems of irrigation in the

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the
Eleventh Meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation.*

world. In the building and maintenance of that system you and the engineers who have gone before you must be numbered among the foremost benefactors of the Indian cultivator. The return on the vast capital investment of Rs. 154 crores, which has so far been spent on irrigation works in India, is not to be measured in terms of revenue, but in the more precious currency of human life and prosperity; and, thanks to the irrigation works which you have made, not only has the threat of famine been removed from wide areas of the country, but, year after year, the irrigated fields bear crops of which the value in a single year is not far short of the whole capital cost of the great barrages, canals and distributaries which harness the waters and guide them where and when they are required.

Since I last addressed you, a great deal of water has flowed under the bridges and down your canals. With the coming of provincial autonomy the responsibility for the maintenance of the great Indian irrigation systems has now developed upon Provincial Governments. Although she is divided into many Provinces and States, it must never be forgotten that India is essentially one country. The experience gained in one part of India may prove of the greatest value in another, and I can imagine no field of engineering science in which it is more desirable that experience and knowledge should be pooled than in the study and practice of irrigation. It is therefore most important that there should be machinery to make the best use of this pooled experience and to serve as a clearing house of information and advice.

There are numerous problems which are constantly assuming practical importance, not only for you as engineers but for those responsible for the administration of vast agricultural tracts. To mention only a few of

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them, there is the question of reclaiming deteriorated land within the bounds of important water-yielding catchment areas ; the control and equitable distribution of all the flow available ; the economical use of flow and the storage of surplus flow. These are some of the problems which call for solution, and it is in this sphere that the Central Board of Irrigation serves so important a purpose at the present time.

I was impressed when I read your agenda by the amount of valuable work which has been achieved by the various Irrigation Research Institutes and Divisions, and particularly by those at Poona, Lahore, in Sind and in the United Provinces. Your research officers meet twice a year, and I understand that their deliberations are most carefully recorded and disseminated, not only in India but also throughout the British Empire. In happier times they are still more widely circulated throughout the world. One of the great tragedies of war is the interruption which it entails in the spread of beneficial knowledge which, in times of peace, is stimulated by the international contacts of scientists and research workers of all countries, and the sharing of experience valuable to mankind which is encouraged by all civilised Governments. In this direction I am happy to know that the part which India has played is an important one and that testimony is frequently received from distant parts of the world to the value of the work of your research organisations.

Among these I must refer particularly to the Central irrigation and Hydro-Dynamic Research Station near Poona which has done first-class work, and which I was greatly disappointed not to be able, for reasons outside my control, to visit when I was recently at Poona, though I was able to study its records and see photographs and

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plans of its models. I have also in mind the Irrigation Research Laboratory at Lahore working in conjunction with the river training and model station at Malikpur, which I had the satisfaction of visiting earlier in my Viceroyalty.

I am delighted to see from your Secretary's Annual Report that the Bureau of Information for Irrigation, attached to the Board and formed as a result of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, over which I had the honour to preside, is proving to be of value. The Bureau's large and carefully selected library is a source of extensive and reliable information, of which I am glad to think that good use can be and is made by irrigation engineers in India.

I am particularly glad to observe that you have on your agenda a revised constitution designed to admit Indian States to membership of the Central Board of Irrigation. In some of the States, there are fine irrigation systems and the participation of some of the Chief Engineers of the States in your deliberations will, I feel sure, be a source of added strength to the Board.

Before I end I must touch upon another matter closely connected in modern times with irrigation. I refer to the development of hydro-electric systems. Your predecessors erected works by which the waters of the great rivers of India, instead of running waste to the sea, were collected and distributed to increase the fertility of the soil. Their great work you are now continuing ; but a feature of the present age is the harnessing of these great waters to perform at the same time another task. Modern engineering has found in the great rivers of India not only a source of life-giving water but also of electrical power. This power is not only employed in industry but also

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech to the Combined Legislature.

assists the irrigation engineer by driving the pumps of his tube-wells. So closely related are the two uses of the same element, as a source of irrigation and as a source of power, that the time may not be far distant when some organisation may become necessary to secure the closest possible co-ordination between the two.

And now, Gentlemen, I will leave you to your deliberations, for the success of which you have my warmest good wishes. You, who are irrigation engineers, are privileged, to an extent which few of us are, to see materialise in your time and before your own eyes the fruit of your labours. You have the satisfaction of knowing that the work on which you are engaged is of incalculable benefit to millions of souls. It is a great service to the land in which you work and live, and a service of which India is justly proud.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY MADE THE FOLLOWING SPEECH TO THE COMBINED INDIAN LEGISLATURE.

20th November 1940.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech to the Combined Indian Legislature on 20th November 1940.

Gentlemen,—I am very glad to meet you all again today.

The fourteen months that have elapsed since I last addressed you has been a period of great events, events of profound significance both in their immediate effect and in their ultimate reaction on the fortunes of civilization and the history of the world. I warned you in September 1939 that we should be ill-advised if we thought that victory was easily achieved or that the course of the conflict would be free from reverses to our arms. I expressed at the same

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time complete and entire confidence in the outcome of the war. I emphasized how vitally important it was to India, the Empire, and to the world's civilization that that outcome should be satisfactory, and I added that I felt certain beyond any question that the response which India would make in a conflict for ideals so dear to her would be one of the utmost value and importance, and one worthy of her traditions and her ancient name.

When I spoke to you we could none of us have foreseen that fourteen months later the Empire would be bearing single-handed a burden so heavy as it bears today ; that of its allies at the beginning of the war Poland and France would have been overrun and conquered ; that unprovoked Nazi aggression would have added to its victims Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium ; and that Italy would have made an equally unprovoked attack on the gallant people of Greece, whose superb resistance commands our admiration today. But we should have been well content fourteen months ago had we, with any foreknowledge of the events which have happened, of the vastly increased burden placed upon the Empire, of the intensification of the most ruthless and unprincipled forms of attack on human life and human property by air and sea, of the singular disregard with which our enemies have continued to treat international obligations and treaties so long as they could derive a temporary advantage in doing so, had we, I say, been enabled to foresee, too, the valour and the success of the resistance offered. The work of the armed forces of the Crown by sea, by land, in the air, in every theatre of war ; whether they are drawn from India, from the Dominions and Colonies, or from the Home country, is such as to fill us with pride, with thankfulness, and with confidence for the future.

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While the war lasts, its implications, its consequences, are such that it can never for a moment be out of our minds, that in everything that we do it must always be present to us. But I do not propose today, nor would this be the place, to enlarge in this speech on the detail of India's war effort, on the splendid work which Indian troops have done and are doing in the fighting line, or on the magnificent achievements of India, whether British India or the Indian States, in the provision of men, of money, of materials. No praise could be too warm for that achievement. It is one that has struck the imagination of the world, one for which the whole Empire is I know deeply grateful. And, substantial as that achievement already is, no pains are being spared to enable India to give still further effect, in all the ways I have mentioned, and with as little delay as may be, to the universal desire in this country to help the Allies and to see the triumph of the ideals for which they are fighting. The confident hope that I expressed a year ago that India would live up to her highest traditions have been fulfilled in the highest degree. You may be confident, Gentlemen, that in this vital matter I and my Government are fully alive to the importance not only of responding to India's desire to help, but of making her in the matter of defence as self-sufficient as possible ; and to the necessity of bringing her defensive equipment to the highest practicable pitch of adequacy and efficiency.

I said, Gentlemen, that the war must be continually in our thoughts and must be related to everything we do. Of the matters on which I shall touch in the remainder of my speech, the great bulk arise out of, or have some connection with, war activities or the war situation. There are one or two which I shall also mention, which are not so

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directly connected. But in their case the interest taken in them by the general public is sufficiently great to justify me in making a reference which I should not otherwise have made.

It was with much regret that I learned of the refusal of the Legislative Assembly to take into consideration the Finance Bill designed to facilitate the financing of India's war effort. It will, I think, be very generally appreciated that it would be impossible for me to acquiesce in the decision of the Assembly, and I have made a recommendation which will be placed before the Assembly this afternoon.

The work of the Department of Supply, which as you will remember was established shortly before the outbreak of the war, has been of great value in connection with India's war effort ; and I should like to pay a tribute to the importance of this work, and to the work of the Ordnance factories (which were not until recently brought under the Department). I should like to associate with that tribute the business community in this country, whether Indian or British. At a time of considerable strain the Department has had the most valuable assistance from business firms, and I am glad to think that that friendly collaboration and patriotic assistance, so readily given, has led to some remarkable results. In the field of munitions, the Ordnance factories since the beginning of the war have been able to export to His Majesty's Government about one hundred million rounds of small arms ammunition and nearly four hundred thousand rounds of gun ammunition. On the stores side, Indian industry has made contributions on the largest scale to the war effort in the shape of engineering stores, jute goods, and many other manufactured products. I and my Government have been at pains to endeavour to secure that such changes should

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be made in the organisation of the Department as practical working showed likely to produce still better results. You may be confident that the lessons of experience will not be lost upon us, and that such further modification of the supply organisation as experience may dictate will be made without hesitation or delay. As I speak today, indeed, further changes in the Supply Department are in view, designed further to speed up work, and to ensure that the organisation as a whole is as compact, and as economically run, as is consistent with the magnitude and the character of the operations which fall to be performed.

It was with the greatest satisfaction that I recently welcomed to India the Members of the Eastern Group Conference, and the Mission from the Ministry of Supply headed by Sir Alexander Roger. Much as may have been done, much still remains to be done if India is to make her full contribution to the war effort ; and the importance, whether to India or to the Empire as a whole, of the labours of the bodies to which I have just referred cannot be over-estimated. I should like to take the opportunity to express our deep gratitude to the non-official Advisers from India who have, with such public spirit, placed their services at the disposal of these bodies.

The need for harnessing India's economic resources to the task of making her a great centre for supplying the requirements of the military forces engaged in the war must take first place in our attention. But the Government of India are in no way blind to the pressing problems that war conditions have brought to Indian trade and industry. The dislocation of our export trade by the cutting off of nearly all European markets has been receiving the closest attention not only of my Government but of the Export Advisory Council, in the hope of dealing with the problem of surplus production and of

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reducing the size of any surplus by finding new outlets for our products and manufactures. This last attempt is being pursued in various ways, of which mention may be made, in particular, of the exploratory mission of Dr. Gregory and Sir David Meek to America, and of the decision to increase the number of our Trade Commissioners in continents other than Europe, beginning with Australia. On the other side of the picture, the cutting off of many supplies which normally came from abroad has created many gaps, not only in India itself, but also in neighbouring countries, which Indian industry can hope to fill. I am glad to note that business and industrial interests in the country have not been slow to undertake enterprises designed to fill these gaps, while my Government have done their best to mobilise technical skill for their assistance by setting up the Board of Industrial and Scientific Research, which through its numerous Sub-Committees and in collaboration with the Director of Research, has already produced valuable results.

The war has thrown a considerably increased burden upon the Provincial police forces, for, apart from their normal responsibility for law and order, they now are under obligation to undertake the safeguarding of places of vital importance to the internal defence of the country, such as power plants, major installations, and a number of protected places, in addition to affording an enhanced degree of protection to railways, and to watch and ward against sabotage. That burden has been materially eased by the establishment in all Provinces of the Civic Guard, and by the assistance given by that body in maintaining internal security. The response to the call for volunteers has been most encouraging. The Civic Guard has on many occasions already given practical proof of its usefulness and Efficiency, and I am confident that it will, as

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Combined Legislature.*

its training progresses, play a most valuable and important part in India's war effort.

Though immediate danger to India from enemy air raids may not be apparent at the moment, he would be a wise man who could accurately foretell the development of the war, and we must be prepared for all eventualities. For this reason Air Raid Precautions in India have been initiated in a manner designed to form a solid basis on which further expansion can take place. Close liaison exists on this most important matter between the Central Government and the Provinces ; and its expert advice, and substantial grants-in-aid, have been placed at their disposal. Good progress has been achieved in the past year, a progress made possible by the willing co-operation and voluntary effort of the people of India. There is however still much to be done, and I need not remind you, Gentlemen, of the value of the help which you can individually give to stimulate interest and co-operation on the part of the public and of local bodies in the areas from which you come.

Since the last meeting of the Legislature, compulsory national service has been introduced in India for European British subjects. For the smooth working of the machinery for enrolment I gratefully acknowledge the work of the National Service Advisory Committees—all of it voluntary ; and the spirit of willing service has been evident on every hand. The European community in India have yielded to none in the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice which they have shown in the common cause.

In the treatment of enemy aliens the policy of my Government has been guided by the desire not to disorganise the good work of missionary institutions, and to avoid imposing unnecessary hardship on innocent and

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harmless people. Although, as a result of events in Europe last summer, reinternment, or restriction to parole centres, was necessary for most of those who had earlier been released on the recommendation of a special Committee, the case of some priests and missionaries, of certain Jews of enemy nationality, and of other enemy aliens who can show that they have consistently and publicly opposed the Nazi or Fascist régime, is receiving special consideration.

The outbreak of war found many Indian students in the United Kingdom. Arrangements were promptly made through the High Commissioner in London to repatriate those desiring to return to India, and to maintain a register of those who preferred to continue their studies overseas. To both categories the High Commissioner was authorised to make financial advances where necessary. In the case of students returning to India the Universities have all, I am glad to say, agreed that the period already spent at a British University should be recognised for the purpose of enabling them to complete their degree courses in India. Special arrangements have also been made, under the general control of the Chief Justice of India, for holding Bar Examinations in this country.

Realising as I do the importance attached by the Muslim community to the performance of the sacred duty of pilgrimage to Mecca, I am happy that, in spite of war-time difficulties, it has been possible to arrange shipping facilities,—at Calcutta, this year, as well as at Bombay and Karachi,—and with the collaboration of His Majesty's Government, to prevent fares for the sea passage soaring beyond the reach of the classes from whom the pilgrims are mainly drawn. Indeed I understand that, thanks to a substantial reduction in charges announced by the Saudi

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Arabian Government, and to our being prepared, even in war time, to permit the taking of gold sovereigns out of India by the pilgrims, to enable them to overcome exchange difficulties in the Hedjaz, the minimum cost to the pilgrim will be substantially lower than it would otherwise have been. In fact it will be lower this year than last.

The greatly increased burden which has fallen on the Government of India in connection with war preparation and war work has inevitably necessitated some expansion of staff and some additional expenditure. It would clearly be a shortsighted policy to reject expenditure which, on a broad view, would assist in the mobilization of the economic resources of the country and further the successful prosecution of the war. But I would take this opportunity to say that I am fully alive to the vital importance of economy in the civil administration, and of eliminating all forms of avoidable expenditure at a time when we have no choice but to spend large sums of money on defence and to augment the revenues of the Government by additional taxation.

In spite of their immediate pre-occupation with questions arising out of the war my Government continue to keep a vigilant watch on the interests of Indians overseas. In the Union of South Africa, the Broome Commission, which was appointed in May last to enquire into alleged penetration of Indians into predominantly European areas in Natal and Transvaal, commenced its labours last month. The ban on the assisted emigration of unskilled labour to Malaya continues while questions of the wages of Indian labourers and of the status of the Indian community are still under discussion with the Malayan Governments. In regard to Burma, my Government are awaiting the results of Mr. Baxter's enquiry into

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the facts concerning Indian immigration into that country, and they are also watching with close attention the course of certain recent legislation which may directly affect the Indian community. An experienced officer was sent to Mauritius to ascertain recent developments in that Colony, so far as they affect Indians. I regret that the recent conversations between my Government and the representatives of the Government of Ceylon should not have had more satisfactory results.

In the field of foreign affairs, my Government's relations with Nepal continue to be most cordial. The friendly attitude of His Highness the Prime Minister of Nepal and of his Government is evident from His Highness' offer of two Brigades of Nepalese troops for the defence of India and from the generous donations of money made by His Highness and the members of his family. This attitude of ready and friendly co-operation is greatly appreciated by the Government of India.

His Holiness the thirteenth Dalai Lama died in 1933, and his incarnation was discovered towards the end of 1939. The installation ceremony of His Holiness the new Dalai Lama took place in February last. A mission headed by Mr. B. J. Gould, who is responsible for the Government of India's relations with our friendly neighbour, Tibet, was deputed to Lhasa to attend the ceremony on behalf of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India.

In October I and my Government had the pleasure of welcoming to India a Mission of Goodwill from Thailand. The Mission were the guests of the Government of India. During their visit they were able to make wide contacts and to cover much ground. On their return to Thailand

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they took with them precious Buddhist relics from Taxila presented to the Thai Government by the Government of India, who also arranged, at the request of the Mission, for earth from certain sacred Buddhist places in India to be placed on the aeroplane on which they returned to Bangkok. I am confident that the visit of this Mission will help to cement still further the bonds which already exist between India and Thailand.

From China we are glad to welcome Dr. Tai Chi Tao, an eminent Buddhist scholar, and Chairman of the China Public Service Commission.

His Excellency the Governor of the French Establishments in India issued an announcement in September last identifying French India with the cause of free France.

It gives me great satisfaction to be able to inform the House that the relations between India and Afghanistan continue to rest on a firm and friendly basis, and that there are signs that the bonds between our two countries are being drawn even closer in the cultural and commercial fields. I am glad, too, to say that in spite of the disturbance of men's minds by a period of war and intensive rumour the Frontier tribes have on the whole remained remarkably steady. The whole tribal belt from Chitral to the sea has been entirely quiet save in Waziristan, and there are many signs that the tribesmen are in sympathy with the democratic front. And in Waziristan, largely as the result of measures undertaken to control portions of tribal territory which had served as harbourage for the collection of gangs, a better spirit prevails, and the peace of the Districts of the North-West Frontier has recently been less disturbed than at any time during the last few years.

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Since I last addressed you Labour in India has not been without its problems ; but I am happy to say that owing to the good sense of all concerned there has been no major dislocation of work since the war began, and I believe that Indian labour will continue its substantial contribution to the war effort. When disputes have arisen, the influence of my Government has always been thrown in favour of adjustment and conciliation rather than dictation. Complaints of inadequate wages in the circumstances of the war situation have always received careful and anxious consideration : and examination has already been made of the cost of living in the coalfields and an enquiry has also been instituted into the claim of railway labour for a dearness allowance.

My Government has taken steps to obtain skilled labour for those industries which are engaged on war production, ensuring at the same time that the interests of the artisan are safeguarded. Under the Technical Training Scheme, in the operation of which I have to acknowledge the willing assistance of Provincial Governments, we have planned not only to meet the immediate needs of the war effort, but by providing well-equipped and competently staffed institutions for training thousands of our young men to be skilled technicians, we have kept in view the needs, when peace is at last restored, of India's expanding industries.

Let me turn now to the constitutional field. I will not detain you with any detailed recapitulation of the discussions with political parties that have taken place since the outbreak of war. As you know I have had discussions at various times with all the leading political figures in this country, and with representatives of all major parties and communities ; and I can, I think, claim

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to have spared no effort to bring the parties together, and to reach an accommodation in the constitutional field which would be generally acceptable. It is a matter of profound disappointment to me that those endeavours should not have been more successful than they have been, and that the differences which have stood in the way of that constitutional advance which His Majesty's Government have been so anxious to see should still persist. The latest and the most important of the endeavours made by His Majesty's Government is represented by the statement which I was authorised to issue three months ago.

On August the 8th I published a statement on behalf of His Majesty's Government. That statement reaffirmed the attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth as the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament. In order to remove all doubt as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government as to the method and time of progress towards that goal, it declared the sympathy of His Majesty's Government with the desire that the responsibility for framing the future constitutional scheme of Indian self-Government should—subject to due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed on her—be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life. At the same time it emphasised the concern of His Majesty's Government that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in the framing of that scheme, and it made it clear that His Majesty's Government could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority was

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directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. The method by which these two indispensably linked objects were to be secured was the setting up, on the basis of friendly agreement, of a body representative of all the principal elements in India's national life to devise the framework of the new constitution. This body was to be set up immediately after the war, but His Majesty's Government expressed their desire to welcome and promote in the meantime every sincere and practical step taken by Indians themselves that could prepare the way for agreement upon its form and procedure, as well as upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself. Meanwhile, in order to associate Indian public opinion more closely with the Government of India at the Centre, and in the hope of promoting the unity of India by the creation of new bonds of understanding through practical and responsible co-operation in the task of governing India and directing the Indian war effort, I was authorised to invite Indian political leaders to join my Executive Council, as well as to establish a War Advisory Council containing representatives of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

Outside India these proposals, both in their immediate and in their larger ultimate aspects, have been welcomed as liberal in conception, and as representing the best practical solution of existing differences. In India itself, too, they have met with the support of a large body of opinion : in their more immediate aspect, however, namely, the expansion of my Executive Council, I have not secured the response that was hoped from political leaders in India. The reasons for which they have been unable to accept the proposals of His Majesty's Government are conflicting, and, indeed, in some ways mutually destructive

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However that may be, the effect is that the major political parties concerned are not in present circumstances prepared to take advantage of the opportunity offered to them.

His Majesty's Government note this conclusion with sincere regret. The proposals in question would place real power and real responsibility in Indian hands. Their acceptance would afford the most hopeful contribution which Indian political leaders could make at this critical time towards the preservation of Indian unity, and towards an agreed constitutional settlement for the future. His Majesty's Government do not propose to withdraw them, and are still prepared to give effect to them as soon as they are convinced that a sufficient degree of representative support is forthcoming. But as that degree of support has evidently not yet manifested itself, His Majesty's Government have decided that I should not be justified in proceeding with the expansion of my Executive Council, or the establishment of the War Advisory Council, at the present moment.

Gentlemen, I do not wish to conceal from you the deep disappointment which I feel at this failure to secure, within the framework of the constitution, due expression of that ultimate and essential unity in which the hopes and the labours of so many of us have been founded, and upon which must depend the future position and influence of India in time to come. Nevertheless I would counsel you not to be cast down by the immediate difficulties that beset the path of political advance in this great country. For, indeed, stress of war may well in the end come to strengthen and extend that very process of unification, and to hasten the achievement of those constitutional changes implicit in self-government with unity, which at this moment it appears to obstruct. Meanwhile in the

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech to the Indian Mining Association, the Indian Mining Federation and the Indian Colliery Owners' Association on the occasion of his visit to Jharia Coalfields at the Railway Institute, Dhanbad.

circumstances of the world today the duty of my Government is clear. It is to press forward with all speed and in every field of activity those preparations upon which rests the capacity of this country to wage war with ever-growing strength and successfully to overcome the hazards that confront her. Many things may happen before I address you again ; but whatever the trials and anxieties that lie before us, however sharp the tests to which we may be subjected, we may have faith in the capacity of India to continue to play a glorious part in this righteous war against the forces of darkness and oppression. With all faith and confidence in your resolution and affection, I invite you and all men and women of goodwill throughout this land to support in this critical hour, with all strength of body and spirit, the cause of India and the Empire.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY MADE THE FOLLOWING SPEECH TO THE INDIAN MINING ASSOCIATION, THE INDIAN MINING FEDERATION AND THE INDIAN COLLIERY OWNERS' ASSOCIATION ON THE OCCASION OF HIS VISIT TO JHARIA COALFIELDS AT THE RAILWAY INSTITUTE, DHANBAD.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech to the Indian Mining Association, the Indian Mining Federation and the Indian Colliery Owners' Association on the occasion of his visit to Jharia Coalfields at the Railway Institute, Dhanbad, on Saturday, the 14th December 1940 :—

14th December 1940.

Gentlemen,—I am very glad of the opportunity your three Associations have given me of meeting the repre-

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech to the Indian Mining Association, the Indian Mining Federation and the Indian Colliery Owners' Association on the occasion of his visit to Jharia Coalfields at the Railway Institute, Dhanbad.

representatives of the coal mining industry this afternoon, and let me say that sympathy for the industry is not entirely uninformed, nor entirely impersonal; for, in my own country I have been interested in coal mines.

The coal mining industry of India dates back to the time of Warren Hastings. Permission to work coal mines in Bengal was first granted in 1774, and the important total of about 100 tons were delivered to Government in 1775. For various reasons this adventure did not succeed. No further attempt was made for nearly 40 years until 1814, when mining was commenced in Raniganj. The first systematic geological survey of the field was made during 1845-46 and a more detailed examination was made during 1858 and 1860, by which time some 50 collieries were already in existence. The development since 1868 has been rapid. In 1868 the output of the coal mines in India was only about 500,000 tons. The present output exceeds 28 million tons annually.

During these years, with the growth of public consciousness in such matters, there has also been a gradual but marked development in the measures taken for the safety of those who work underground. We who look back may at times feel that progress has been too slow, but it should be a mistake to think that what is clear to us was equally obvious to our predecessors. Moreover, as in so many other industries, the question has been complicated by the participation in the industry of those who can barely afford to make it pay. The problem of adapting the requirements of safety to the capacity of all owners

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to shoulder the financial burdens involved has not been easy. But in this work Government have been assisted by the concentration of the various interests concerned with coal mining into the three Associations whose guest I am privileged to be this afternoon. In your Chairman's speech a reference has been made to the measures undertaken for the improvement of safety in mining during my term of office. In such measures the co-operation which my Government has received from the industry, through your three Associations, has been of the utmost value. This collaboration has become closer with the growth of understanding between the industry and my Government ; and of this collaboration the most fruitful result in recent years has been the passage of the Coal Mines Safety Act of 1939. I think that in the years to come this Act will be regarded as one of the turning points in the development of the coal mining industry in India. The steps taken under it will ensure that coal miners are safe from many of the dangers to which they were previously exposed, while stowing as a safety measure will do much to conserve our available resources of coal. This morning I have seen some of the work which is being financed by the Coal Mines Stowing Board set up under this Act. In the course of the last few years the fires in the two areas which I have visited have resulted in several million tons of coal being burnt underground ; and they have also threatened the safety of a large number of coal mines in the district. The Mines Department, under the extended powers which they now possess, do what they can to see that in all mining operations due care is taken. But there is the further question of prevention, and it is

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that which the activities of the Stowing Board are designed to ensure. I am glad that the Board, while settling the necessary preliminaries before granting assistance towards stowing, have devoted their attention to dealing with these fires, and I am satisfied by my inspection this morning that the work of bringing them under control is being energetically and successfully pursued.

I have more to see this afternoon, and the time at my disposal is short. Before however I take leave of you all I would like to repeat how gratified I am at the spirit of co-operation which the industry, as represented by your three Associations, have shown with my Government in our mutual efforts to make the miner's lot less hazardous. This spirit has resulted in the smooth working of the Board on which you are represented, and whose labours from what I have seen of them today, I would judge already to be having so beneficial an effect.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your kind hospitality to me this afternoon, and I leave you with my best wishes for your future prosperity, and for the prosperity of the great industry which you represent.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY MADE THE FOLLOWING SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATED CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE, AT CALCUTTA.

16th December 1940.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Opening of the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, at Calcutta, on Monday, the 16th December 1940 :—

Gentlemen,—I am very glad to meet you again today. This is the fifth occasion on which I have had the honour

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of opening the annual meeting of the Associate Chambers of Commerce, and I deeply appreciate your kindness in again inviting me to be present. I well know the importance of the body of opinion which you represent—an importance greater than ever when the business community is making so magnificent a contribution to the prosecution of the war.

I would like, too, to associate myself, if I may, with for your reference to the providential escape of Their Majesties from harm. We know the unsparing and self-sacrificing work of the King and Queen, and the deep affection and real gratitude that they have earned for their inspiring leadership. That they should have escaped these deliberate and repeated attacks by the German Air Force is a source of the deepest relief to us all.

I would like, Sir, before going further, to thank you the tribute you have just paid to His Excellency Sir John Herbert, whom we are so glad to see here today, and to Lady Mary Herbert. I know how much the great war effort of Bengal owes to their unfailing and active help and interest, and how much the Governor's extensive touring in his first year of office has been appreciated.

Gentlemen, your Chairman in his speech this morning concentrated on matters affecting the war, and in my reply I propose to do the same. At a time when everything we do must be tested in its relation to the war and to its effective prosecution, we can well be proud of the help that India has given since the war began, whether in men, (and I would pay a warm tribute to the response of the European community) ; in materials ; in money ; or in gifts such as the magnificent gifts for the purchase of

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aircraft which have come from so many Provinces and States.

Much as we have done, there remains still more that we can do, and the obligation upon everyone of us is to see in what way we can still further contribute to the successful termination of the war and the attainment of the ideals for which it is being fought. The great organizations which you, Gentlemen, represent here today have spared no pains in their power over the last fifteen months to organise war effort. I most deeply appreciate their help. I ask you, so far as it is in your power to do so, to increase it. I know that in making that appeal I shall get from you, and from those you represent, the answer that I want.

You, Sir, in the speech you have just made have reminded us of the great events that have taken place since we met here a year ago. The last twelve months have been a period of profound and significant change. None of us a year ago would have anticipated the collapse of France. Some of us may have anticipated the unprovoked German attack on the Scandinavian Countries, on the Low Countries, and the equally unprovoked and wanton attack made by Italy, with such little success we are glad to think today, on her friendly neighbour, Greece. But there has been a cynical opportunism about the policy of the Axis Powers in these wanton aggressions, in these renewed and aggravated breaches of international law, and of the sanctity of treaties, for which few of us would have been prepared. Equally, while a year ago we had much reason to anticipate the violence of the German attack on the United Kingdom, the intensification of submarine warfare and of the air offensive, we can today be proud and happy

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that that attack, pressed home in disregard of every accepted convention of international life, backed by all the military might of a country that for years had been preparing in secret to take advantage of the trust of others in treaties and agreements, should have produced so little effect. Great material damage has been done, though little of it, very little indeed, of any real military significance or importance. Immense hardship and suffering has been caused. Before us as I speak there lies the probability, indeed the certainty, of many months more of warfare of the sternest character before the looked-for decision can be reached. At home our people are bearing today not merely the brunt of the German attack, but the strain of the inclement season of the year. For all that, they are, as everyone of us knows, carrying their burden with a serenity, a confidence, a will to resist and to conquer, a readiness to respond to any call that may be made, that has never been surpassed in the whole history of our race. The toughness of spirit, the unity of purpose, of the mother country has commanded universal admiration, and the inspiring and courageous telegram that you, Sir, have just read to us from the Federation of Chambers of Commerce of the British Empire, and the contents of which we all so deeply appreciate, is eloquent testimony of the resolution with which she looks to the future.

How can we best help those who are carrying so heavy a weight, and who carry it to so large an extent on behalf of India? That is my constant thought. Ever since the war began, I have lost no opportunity of making plain to the Secretary of State and to His Majesty's Government the anxiety of India to make the fullest contribution that

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she can, in whatever way His Majesty's Government consider most helpful to themselves. Our wish to do so they well-known, and, I can assure you, deeply appreciate. They are well aware of our readiness to raise men, as many men as His Majesty's Government desire and as we can equip—and I am glad to be able to tell you today that in those brilliantly conceived and executed operations which are taking place in North Africa, Indian troops have shown themselves worthy of their highest traditions, and have borne themselves with the utmost distinction. His Majesty's Government are aware of the immensity of our natural resources, the extent of the assistance that we can give both immediately and in the future by the provision of raw materials and in manufactured materials. They know, too, how ready we are in this country to relieve them if they so desire, of some of the burden of the manufacture of warlike goods and stores, of aeroplanes and of organized supply to the whole of the Eastern area in such a way as to secure the results most conducive to victory. But clearly it must be for His Majesty's Government, who alone can see the whole picture in its true perspective, to set the pace, to decide for themselves how we can best help them, to let us know at any time whether they want men, whether they want particular stores, whether we can assist them by establishing factories and the like in this country, whether if so they can help us to set them up by the provision of the technicians, the machine tools, in certain cases the materials and machinery requisite for their operation. If there are ways in which greater use can be made by His Majesty's Government of the immense manufacturing potentialities of India, of her great resources in men and in material, India is ready and anxious to help, and His Majesty's Government well know it.

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How best to assist industry in India engaged on war production has been under constant scrutiny. The National Service Ordinance recently enacted aims at securing that the skilled labour at present available in this country shall be put to the most efficient use, and the technical training scheme that we have devised (and which is estimated to cost very nearly a crore of rupees) is designed to increase in a year our supply of such labour by no fewer than 15,000 men. Those measures are designed not only to assist war effort. They have in view also the avoidance so far as possible of dislocation in those industries which in the main subserve civilian needs. Speaking to you, Gentlemen, with your great experience of industrial undertakings, I need not emphasize the difficulty of the problem of finding suitable instructors for so large a number. I hope that by far the greater proportion of the instructors we need will be found in India. But this country cannot meet the whole demand, and I appealed therefore to His Majesty's Government to help us by lending us a small number of men trained in the latest methods now in use in the United Kingdom, who could work with and assist instructors locally recruited. Though their own need is so very great, they readily agreed to comply with our request. They have indeed gone further. Thanks to the imagination and the generous help of Mr. Bevin, the present Minister of Labour, His Majesty's Government have given facilities for the training of a number of Indian artisans in factories in the United Kingdom. I have every hope that that experiment will prove a great success. I need not add how great will be the importance of the added experience which these men will bring back from their training in the United Kingdom both in the furtherance of our own technical training

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schemes to which the Bevin scheme is complementary, and to industry generally.

In your remarks, Sir, you touched on the contraction of export markets due to the war. The policy of economic warfare followed by the Government of India in the closest association with His Majesty's Government and the Dominions Government entails unquestionably hardships, and real hardships, on the commercial community, and the only justification for it can be, as I know that you will all of you agree with me, that that policy is calculated, and is designed, to expedite the termination of the war. But while pursuing that policy in collaboration and in the closest liaison with His Majesty's Government, my Government are concerned to mitigate as far as possible the injurious effects which it inevitably involves. It is with that object that the Export Advisory Council has been established. I am glad to hear that you should lend your approval to the constitution of that body, and that you should feel that it can play a useful part in the solution of the difficult problems that in present circumstances must constantly arise.

My Government have had under the closest investigation the possibility of alternative markets for products the export of which has been curtailed and for increasing India's exports to countries with which normal trade relations continue. A Trade Commissioner has been appointed for Australia and New Zealand, and that appointment will, I am sure, assist the growing trade between India and those two Dominions both now and in the post-war period. Consideration is being given to appointing Trade Commissioners elsewhere and to deputing Trade Missions to some of the countries in which there is a prospect of increased trade either in raw products or

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in finished goods. The impetus given by the necessities of the war has, I am glad to say, resulted also in the establishment of certain new industries, and I trust that we may look as time goes on for still further development in that direction. The researches of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, with which leading scientists and industrialists are associated, have, I understand, already borne good fruit, and the problem of utilising their result so as to enable industries to be started is under active examination. I do not propose today to go into the detail of this industrial development. But I might touch on one industry which, being a key industry, is expected to be in full production very soon. I refer to the aluminium industry. The raw material is available in large quantity in this country. The facilities that are now being afforded by my Government are calculated to result in early production of a commodity which is most necessary and important for purposes of the war, and which will be of equal value after the return of peace. And the aluminium industry is only one of many of which I trust that it will be possible to say the same.

I listened, Sir, with the closest attention to the references you have made to the work of the Department of Supply ; and I realise, and appreciate, the spirit in which they are offered. Dissatisfaction with the performance of the Department is to a very great extent based, I think I am right in saying, on the feeling that it has failed to plan forward and to put industry into continuous production. I would suggest, however, that that dissatisfaction arises to some extent from the fact that the functions and power of a Supply organization, in India, as in any other country, are limited in certain obvious ways. No Supply organisation decides or can decide for itself what articles are

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required for the Defence Forces. Its function is to meet the demands placed upon it. That, I am glad to say, we can claim that the Supply Department has at no stage or time failed to do. But many of the demands placed upon it come from abroad, many of them a stream of small orders, some of them demands very substantial indeed : and as you, I know, appreciate, it is not open to the Government of India to dictate terms to overseas authorities who desire to procure supplies (which we are only too glad to let them have to the maximum of our capacity) from this country. All that we can do is to urge as vigorously as we can on those authorities the need for a forward programme of production, and I am very glad indeed to let you know today that within the last few weeks our representations have borne fruit, and that the Department of Supply will now be able to go ahead on a firm and substantial forward programme for General Stores ; while on the Munitions side, in the same way—munitions, incidentally, required in great part not for ourselves but for overseas—the indications are that we shall shortly be making a very heavy demand indeed on industry.

Could we have reached that position at an earlier stage in the war, nobody would have been more happy than I myself. But that is an issue closely linked up with the relations between the overseas authorities who require our goods and ourselves. Large orders, on the chance of their being taken up later, but for which no authority was prepared at the moment to pay would not, I am certain, have been welcome to any business man, and it goes without saying that progress on a massive scale can be made only when there is a purchaser who is prepared to pay, and to pay for forward production.

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For all that, and despite the admitted limitations upon many of the activities of the Department of Supply its record since I addressed you a year ago stands scrutiny. As you, Sir, have just reminded us, the business done by the two purchasing organizations under the Department amounted in the first year of the war to no less a figure than 56½ crores. By the end of 1940 we shall have supplied for war purposes 280,000 tons of Indian timber, at a cost of just over Rs. 273 lakhs; cotton canvas and cotton jute union canvas valued at Rs. 270 lakhs; 12 million garments costing something like Rs. 700 lakhs; and tents costing over Rs. 500 lakhs. The labour force employed on the making of Army clothing (to take one item alone) has risen from 750 before the war to about 18,000 today. Those are a few typical figures on the General Stores side. On the Munitions Production side, we have supplied to His Majesty's Government 120 million rounds of small arms ammunition, nearly 400,000 filled shells of various calibres, large quantities of explosives, and very large quantities of engineering stores. We are also procuring naval craft at an estimated cost of Rs. 74 lakhs.

I have tried to deal, Gentlemen, (and I know the importance that you attach to this matter and that is my apology for devoting so much time to it) with the basic criticism that there has been a failure to plan and to make full use of industry. But there are, as I know from conversations with many of you many complaints too about the working of the Supply organisation in matters of detail. Many of those complaints are justified, and the Government of India will do their best to remove their causes. We will welcome, too, at any time any suggestions for improvement and any specific complaints, and you

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may be certain that I shall see myself that any such suggestions and any such complaints are most fully and speedily investigated.

War Supply administration, whether in India or in the United Kingdom, is not easy administration. Those responsible for it, like those responsible for war industrial effort, have to deal with conditions which change very rapidly, and with problems which present themselves without warning and which demand immediate solution. I make no attempt to justify any failure there may have been to keep pace with the requirements of the situation. But I know how disturbing in many ways war inevitably proves to commerce and industry, and I can assure you that the difficulties are not confined to you side of that partnership on which all War Supply depends. I hope and believe that as both the Department and Industry settle down to the programme of forward production which we have throughout been so anxious to secure, the complaints I mention, the importance of which I fully accept, will disappear, and you may make it from me that no effort is being spared, as I speak today, to remove their causes.

Before I leave this vital question of War Supply, I should like with your permission to touch on one or two matters in the field of higher policy. Since I last addressed you, there have been two events of great importance, for both of which, I am glad to say, India can claim to have been very largely responsible. The first was the arrival in India of the Ministry of Supply Mission under Sir Alexander Roger, which will, I am confident, enable us to make much more rapid progress in the supply of munitions. The idea that such a mission should be sent to India originated in India many months ago, and, although I

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should have been only too happy had it come to fruition earlier than it did, and in the spring of this year, I am most grateful to the Ministry of Supply for their acceptance of it at a moment of critical importance.

The arrival of the Mission preceded by a few weeks the opening of the Eastern Group Conference. This Conference, as you know, was called to consider the war supply problems of the Empire countries east of Suez. The suggestion that it should be held was sent from India, again many months ago, and I feel that it was not held too soon. Some of you gentlemen here today took part in the Conference as Advisers, and I should like to pay a public tribute today to the great service done by the Advisers both in placing their experience at its disposal, and in collecting and arranging the available facts for final consideration by it. For reasons that you will appreciate cannot today enter into the conclusions and the recommendations of the Conference. But it was generally agreed by the visiting Delegations, the Ministry of Supply Mission, and the Indian Delegation, that the Conference accomplished what it set out to do, and laid the foundations of a sound co-ordinated War Supply policy. The Government of India had no hesitation in accepting its recommendations, and I hope that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the other participating Governments will find it possible to do the same ; and that we shall be able to settle down without delay to give effect to its proposals.

So much for India's contribution to the war in terms of labour and supply. I would add only that, while my Government is fully alive to the necessity of maintaining and developing industry in this country as part of the war

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effort, as a corollary, it is most desirable that the off-take of manpower for the fighting services should not deprive industry of personnel vital to its existence. While we are pressing forward with our schemes of expansion of the armed forces of the Crown, and development of supply, the requirements of Indian industry in manpower are never absent from the mind of my Government.

Let me turn now to the political field. As I speak to you today we are faced in this country, to my deep regret, with a movement, supported by the Congress Party, which is open to grave misunderstanding outside. Leaders of the Congress Party have publicly stated that they do not desire to embarrass His Majesty's Government in the conduct of the war. But they have claimed, at the same time, in the interest of the creed of non-violence, the right to urge the country not to help Britain's war effort with men or with money. You will have seen, Gentlemen, the correspondence that passed between Mr. Gandhi and myself last September in that connection. I made it clear that we in this country had no desire to suppress legitimate criticism within legitimate limits, and I referred to the limits set by His Majesty's Government in the case of conscientious objectors at home. Broadly, the effect is that while a conscientious objector is absolved from the duty of fighting and is allowed even to profess his faith in public, he is not permitted to carry his opposition to the length of trying to persuade others, whether soldiers or munition workers, to abandon their allegiance or to discontinue their effort. But Mr. Gandhi was unable to accept this as adequate in the conditions of India, and when I asked him if he desired to be in a position to dissuade labour from working on war equipment he told me, as you will remember, that while he would not preach to

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workers at the actual works, in the endeavour there to dissuade them from working on war equipment he thought it essential that Congressmen and non-Congressmen should be free to deliver addresses and otherwise to call on people throughout the country to refrain from assisting India's war effort in any way that would involve India's participation in bloodshed.

That is clearly not a position that we can acquiesce in. I have every respect for genuine conscientious objection ; and none of us in the world today can wish to see violence supreme, or wantonly resort to arms. But to arms taken-up armed defence is the only answer, deep and sincere as is the hatred of all of us for war. And we have a duty to this country to see that India's war effort, which, I am certain, has India behind it, is not in any way impeded ; that not a single sepoy is deprived of the arms and ammunition that he needs, whether by speeches or by more active forms of opposition. I regret all the more that we should have a deal with a movement of this character at this moment, since I do not believe that it corresponds in the very least degree to the true feelings of this country. India, I am convinced, remains as united in its destination of Hitlerism, and of all that it stands for as it has been from the very beginning of the war, a detestation to which the utterances of political leaders of every party have borne eloquent witness.

Let me say a word now about the constitutional position. When I spoke to you a year ago I was fresh from my discussions with the principal political leaders. To my great satisfaction I had been able to bring Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi together for the first time for many years. I knew, too, the minds of the leaders of political India on the constitutional position. But I had to admit that the

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efforts which His Majesty's Government and I on their behalf had made were so far abortive ; and that the problem which confronted us and confronted India remained unsolved.

I was for all that full of hope. I knew the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to help to solve that problem. I trusted that the stress of war, the growing appreciation of the attitude of His Majesty's Government, and of their sincerity, would produce its effect. Again I have to confess to failure and to disappointment. I will not weary you with the history of the last twelve months in the constitutional field. You know it only too well. It has been a history of continual initiative on our side. Everything possible has been done to remove misunderstandings, to set out in detail the proposals of His Majesty's Government, to bring home to Indian political leaders, and parties, and communities, that His Majesty's Government were only too anxious for their collaboration in the Central Government in the prosecution of the war, only too anxious to transfer real power and real authority to them. I will say nothing of the numerous discussions I had throughout the year, time after time, with one, prominent leader after another. But I will claim that the final proposals of His Majesty's Government, embodied in the statement I made on their behalf on 8th August, represented a genuine, a sincere and a most generous offer, and it seems to me a sad thing that at a time such as this no advantage should have been taken of it by those for whom it was designed.

Suggestions have been made that we may have not made our intentions clear. For that suggestion, Gentlemen, I can see no sufficient basis. Our intentions—our proposals—are crystal clear. No form of words could

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have made them clearer. They have been set out in my statement of 8th August. They have been debated in Parliament. The Secretary of State, on various occasions, in speeches of the utmost lucidity, has analysed and described them. I cannot believe that they have not been accepted because those to whom they were made did not understand their meaning.

Let me, at the risk of weighing unduly on you, again remind you of their terms. They reaffirmed first as the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament the attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth.

To remove all doubts as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government as to the method and time of progress towards that goal, they declared the sympathy of His Majesty's Government with the desire that the responsibility for framing the future constitutional scheme of Indian self-Government should, subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed on her, be primarily that of Indians themselves; and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic, and political structure of Indian life.

They repeated (and I can assure you from the conversations I have had with political leaders that this is a point of great importance) the concern of His Majesty's Government that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in framing that scheme.

They made it clear, too, that His Majesty's Government could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority was directly denied

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by large and powerful elements in India's national life. (You, Gentlemen, need no emphasis from me as to the importance and the necessity of that guarantee. It would be foolish to imagine for a moment that any solution of the problems of India can be found by ignoring or burking the problem of the minorities. They are one of the most important things in this country today.)

To devise the framework of the new constitution immediately after the war, His Majesty's Government were ready to see a body set up representative of all the principal elements in India's national life. (We cannot clearly in the midst of a struggle for existence get down to the niceties of constitutional discussion : nor can we, with the pressing claims of the war on our attention, hope to do justice to the intricate and complicated problems that the framing of a constitution involves.)

Pending the conclusion of the war, His Majesty's Government repeated that they were only too anxious to welcome and promote every sincere and practical step taken by Indians themselves to prepare the way for agreement about the form and procedure of this post-war body ; and about the principles and the outlines of the constitution.

And, in the meantime, they proposed to expand at once the Government of India by the inclusion in it of Indian political leaders , and to set up a War Advisory Council which should contain representatives of the Indian States as well as of British India.

Those were the proposals of His Majesty's Government. Those proposals, I venture to repeat, were as generous in character as they were sincere in conception. It has been a profound disappointment to me that they should have had no better reception. As Gentlemen, you

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are all aware, there was no sufficient degree of general support from the major political parties in this country for those proposals to justify His Majesty's Government in going ahead with them at this stage. One important political party indeed rejected them out of hand, and with no indication of close consideration. Familiar as you are with the intricate problems of India, with the difficulties we all of us have to face, you will, I am certain, share my view that if there is to be any prospect of harmonious working in this country, there must be a sufficient degree of general agreement behind any constitutional changes that may be made, and a sufficient degree of general support for those changes. The reasons for which the great political parties rejected at this stage the proposals I have just mentioned were, as I told the Central Legislature recently, conflicting, and indeed in some ways mutually destructive. But the fact remains ; and it is that we cannot at this stage find that degree of agreement in this country, that degree of support for the scheme of constitutional advance, which would justify His Majesty's Government in proceeding immediately on the lines I have just indicated.

Let me, however, again make it clear first, that His Majesty's Government and I remain as anxious as ever to see a solution. Throughout the whole of this constitutional discussion, the initiative has come from His Majesty's Government and from myself. At no stage have any constructive proposals capable of realisation in the conditions of India and in the conditions of the modern world been put forward to us. We have had to do our best, and we have done our best, to find the largest possible measure of common agreement, and to endeavour to persuade the parties concerned to accept that largest measure of com-

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mon agreement, even if it meant some abatement of their own particular claims as against other parties in the interests of India. We have not been successful. But His Majesty's Government and I are satisfied that the proposals put forward by me on their behalf on the 8th August last remain the best solution of the problems of this country that can be found at this time. We are satisfied that, given those internal factors of which no wise statesman can fail to take full account, they represent the most extensive measure that can be contemplated, and in those circumstances His Majesty's Government keep those proposals open. They hope that as time passes, as there is more opportunity for reflection on the real power and the real authority that their acceptance would transfer to Indian hands, there will be a greater readiness on the part of the principal political parties in this country to take advantage of them.

Circumstances here, the background, the factors in the situation, are not the same as they are in the United Kingdom. It would be foolish to refuse to recognise that fact, to refuse to recognise that some adjustments of a particular character may be called for, in dealing with the constitutional problems of India, in order to reconcile the conflict of view, the difference of culture, of tradition and of temperament, of the great communities, and the great political parties. And I would add this. It is but natural in times such as these, when, in the different circumstances of English democracy, the affairs of the State are being guided at this critical moment by a national government, that the idea of a national government for India should have received the prominence which it has in this country. With the idea we all of us sympathise. But, Gentlemen, and I speak with a full knowledge of the

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background and of the difficulties, I am satisfied that the proposals of 8th August, the opportunity they gave for the participation in the Central Government of India and in the conduct of the war of the representatives of the leading political parties, represent more closely than any other scheme that can at this time be devised a national government for India—a government, associated through the War Advisory Council with the Indian States, that will contain within itself the representatives of those great parties and communities, that will exercise full and real influence on the conduct of the war, leaving to the post-war discussions which I have already mentioned the final settlement of those intricate questions, whether between the communities here, or between British India and the Indian States, or between India and His Majesty's Government, which have got to be solved before the problem of India's future can be finally settled.

Gentlemen, speaking to you today I ask for your continued support, and for that help that you, with your innumerable contacts in this country, are in so good a position to lend, to assist India in the solution of these problems. I repeat that the initiative has throughout come from His Majesty's Government and from myself on their behalf. The fact that we have so far failed to reconcile those conflicting aims and objectives of the principal parties and interests in this country which have got to be reconciled before progress is possible does not deter us. Our objective remains to lead India to the proclaimed goal of Dominion Status, and that as early as may be. There is nothing more that we can do than we have done. We are entitled to claim, we do claim, and I claim today, that it is for the Indian parties themselves, for those communities, interests and political leaders concerned, to get

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together and to see what they can do by way of reaching an accommodation with one another against the background which I have just mentioned. It has not been the fault of His Majesty's Government that matters are not further forward today. They have done everything in their power. For the suggestions that are being made from various quarters that Indian political leaders and Indian political parties should at this point come together and seek to reach agreement among themselves, His Majesty's Government have nothing but the fullest goodwill and the fullest sympathy.

Gentlemen, I will not keep you longer. These are indeed stirring and anxious times. Your Chairman referred in most friendly and flattering terms to the extension of my Viceroyalty. A further period in this great office, the burdens of which I can tell you from experience over a period so eventful as that for which I have held it, are crushing in their weight, is no light thing for any man to contemplate. But if, in that further period by which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to extend my term, I can continue to assist in however small a degree in the effective and active prosecution of the war, in India's contribution to war effort, if I can give India a lead, a direction, which will enable her more fully to express the anxiety of her peoples and herself to give that help which it is so abundantly clear that they are passionately anxious to give to the achievement of our ideals, then indeed I shall be a happy and a fortunate man.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your friendly welcome today, for those words of encouragement which your Chairman has spoken, and, above all, for the assurance which he has given me of your continued support and

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech to the Parade of Civic Guards, A. R. P. Organisations and other Voluntary Civic Services in Calcutta.

understanding. There is nothing, I can assure you, that I more deeply value, and nothing that could be of greater assistance to a Viceroy so shortly about to enter on the sixth and the final year of this great office.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY MADE THE FOLLOWING SPEECH TO THE PARADE OF CIVIC GUARDS, A. R. P. ORGANISATIONS AND OTHER VOLUNTARY CIVIC SERVICES IN CALCUTTA.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech to the Parade of Civic Guards, A. R. P. Organisations and other Voluntary Civic Services in Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 17th of December 1940 :—

17th Decem-
ber 1940.

*Your Excellency, Sir Nazimuddin, Officers, Men and Women of the Calcutta Civic Guard and A. R. P. Organisations,—*I am very glad and proud to have met you and to have seen you on parade today. What I have seen fills me with encouragement, not only because I know that this great city will have to defend her against whatever dangers may threaten, from outside or from within, a keen, well-trained and disciplined body of citizens, but because I see before me also an admirable display of civic co-operation which befits the second city of the Empire and augurs well for the future of India.

You have voluntarily given up your leisure hours and your comfort to fit yourselves for the duty of protecting your fellow citizens, and they, I feel sure, recognise the unselfishness and the public spirit which have prompted you to undertake this task, and honour you for it.

The A. R. P. organisation has been under training for over a year and the Civic Guard for about six months.

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The degree of progress which has been achieved by both is remarkable, and this, I know, is largely due to those instructors from Bengali military formations who have readily given their time and service to assist in the training.

The manner in which recruitment and training of the Civic Guard are proceeding, in the districts of Bengal no less than in Calcutta itself, is most encouraging, and the carefully planned organisation, covering the whole of this city and providing the officers with regular opportunities for consultation and exchange of ideas, fulfils admirably the purpose for which these bodies have been raised all over India. I am delighted to know that much of this success is due to the lively interest which my friend Lord Sinha has taken in every phase of Civic Guard development.

It is also of particular interest to me to observe the extent of co-operation which exists between the Civic Guard and the Police. No Police force can function properly, even in normal times, without the whole-hearted sympathy and support of the public at large, whose safety and the safety of whose property it is their main duty to protect. The increased co-operation which the present emergency has brought about between the Police and voluntary civic bodies, representative of the public, is a development of immense importance, and the spirit which it has engendered will, I am sure, be of lasting mutual benefit. It has already shown practical evidence of its value in the fine work done by the Civic Guard, acting with the Police, in keeping the peace during the recent strike of conservancy workers, and in controlling holiday crowds, and, with their colleagues of the A. R. P. during the recent and most successful trial black-out in this city.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech to the Parade of Civic Guards, A. R. P. Organisations and other Voluntary Civic Services in Calcutta.

You A. R. P. workers deserve a special tribute, since in Calcutta you led the way in voluntary war work, and in spite of initial delays in the supply of equipment, you have let nothing discourage you in pursuing steadily and unobtrusively your arduous and vitally important training. There are now five thousand of you, men and women, working in close co-operation with your colleagues of the Civic Guard, the Police and the Fire Services. You are building up a splendid organisation of rescue and demolition squads and on the medical side an ample provision of first-aid and hospital services.

We must all hope that the test of your proficiency after all these months of training will never come. But if it should come, I am confident, and the City of Calcutta is confident, that you are fully prepared to meet it and to grapple with it as bravely and as competently as your fellow workers in London and the British Isles, whose fortitude and heroism is inscribing day by day some of the most glorious of this war.

This parade typifies to my mind the determination of all loyal citizens of India to see this business through to the end—to the end of the forces of evil and destruction which are threatening the world. For, make no mistake, the tyranny against which you are prepared to defend your city threatens the lives and homes of peaceful citizens, not here nor in distant parts of the world only, but all over the world; and all those everywhere who value the precious gifts of peace and liberty and civilization must be prepared, as you are, to fight for them and defend them, whether the danger to them seems near or far. And when the victory is ours and the danger is at an end, India and the whole civilized world will thank you for the courage

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Prize-Giving at the
Rajkumar College, Rajkot.*

and steadfastness with which you have been prepared to bear your share in this momentous struggle.

Meanwhile, stand firm and persevere, and God be with you all.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY MADE THE FOLLOWING SPEECH AT THE PRIZE-GIVING AT THE RAJKUMAR COLLEGE, RAJKOT.

11th January
1941.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Prize-giving at the Rajkumar College, Rajkot, on Saturday, the 11th January 1941.

Your Highnesses, Mr. Principal, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Let me first thank you on behalf of Her Excellency and myself for the welcome you have given us which, I need hardly say, we greatly appreciate.

It is a great pleasure to have this opportunity of visiting the Rajkumar College which, as the Principal has pointed out, is the oldest of the Chiefs' Colleges in India. Though as he has said, the College, like most such institutions, has had its ups and downs during the 70 years of its existence, it can look back to a longer record of valuable educational work and it has built up a tradition of which it may well be proud. Since its foundation, not only has it educated a large number of Ruling Princes, Chiefs and Talukdars of Kathiawar and their relatives, but you will also find inscribed in the College rolls in this Hall the names of many Rulers and members of ruling families from other parts of India.

Changes have recently been made which will, I have no doubt prove to be conducive to the future well-being of the College. These changes have already had their effect, as is evident from the fact that there are now more

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Prize-Giving at the
Rajkumar College, Rajkot.*

than 60 boys on the roll, a number larger than at any time in the past. For the remarkable progress which has recently been made I should like to congratulate His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, the first President of the College Council under the new system, by which the President is elected from among the Ruling Princes, and Mr. Barritt, to whose energy and enthusiasm the very satisfactory results which have recently been achieved are principally due.

The most notable of the recent changes undoubtedly is the reorganisation of the College on the lines of a Public School. Its portals are no longer closed to all but boys of a particular class—Kumars from States and Talukas. Other boys from all parts of India are now eligible for admission ; and I am glad to know that the College has also opened its door to boys from England who in the present emergency cannot continue their education there.

With this wider outlook and the better opportunities for developing the various activities of school life which larger numbers must assuredly provide, the College will, I am confident, be able to fulfil abundantly the purposes for which it was originally established and for which it has now been reorganised.

I warmly congratulate the boys who have of their own accord forgone the prizes they have won and have given me—to be devoted to a War Fund—a substantial donation equivalent to the value of these prizes. The spirit which has prompted them to do this is most praiseworthy and I gratefully accept their contribution. It is made to the cause of humanity—a common cause which, whatever

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Prize-Giving at the
Rajkumar College, Rajkot.*

effort and sacrifice may be demanded, India has shown its determination to uphold.

I am now, for the first time during my term of office, visiting the States of Western India, and I welcome this opportunity of publicly expressing my thanks to the Princes and people of these States for the unstinting generosity which they have shown in contributing to the various War Funds and helping in many other ways to further the successful prosecution of the war. Many of these States have been passing through a time of acute difficulty caused by the failure of the monsoon in this part of India. The prompt and effective measures which their Rulers have taken to alleviate and avert distress in their territories must certainly have earned for them the gratitude of their subjects. Serious depletion of resources is an inevitable result of famine or scarcity, but in spite of this the Darbars have devoted very large sums to the relief of distress. And though they have thus incurred heavy expenditure the Princes and Chiefs of the Western India States have not hesitated to make the most munificent donations to the several Funds raised in connexion with the war. In the time of need they have not failed their people ; and they have made a magnificent response to the wider call which India, the Empire, and Humanity have made to all who value freedom and honour and righteousness. They have set an example which may well be an inspiration to the boys of this College, many of whom will, in the years to come, themselves be the Rulers of their States and Talukas.

In conclusion let me offer to the Rajkumar College my best wishes for a future of ever increasing usefulness and prosperity.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY MADE THE FOLLOWING SPEECH AT THE LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE CEREMONY OF THE HOPE STADIUM AND, PUBLIC GARDENS AT PORBANDAR.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the laying of the Foundation Stone ceremony of the Hope Stadium and Public Gardens at Porbandar, on Thursday, the 16th January 1941.

Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I must first thank Your Highness for the generous terms in which you have spoken of Lady Linlithgow and myself and the cordial welcome which you have extended to us on this our first visit to Porbandar. It is indeed a pleasure to have seen your charming capital with its Marine Drive and its imposing buildings overlooking the blue waters of the Indian Ocean, and we shall both carry away with us the most vivid impression of its picturesque beauty.

In these troubled days, when the minds of all of us are distracted with care and anxiety, the peaceful serenity of this City by the sea has made a deep impression upon me, and I shall value my stay here as a welcome and enjoyable interlude amidst the multifarious duties which are inseparable from the office of a Viceroy.

Your account of the proud and honourable record of your Ancient House, which, I understand, is the leading family of one of the oldest of the ruling races in the Kathiawar Peninsula, the Jethwa Rajputs, has interested me greatly. The traditions of the Jethwa clan have certainly been worthily upheld by the prompt and whole-hearted response which the Porbandar State has made to the call of civilization in her struggle with the forces of Barbarism. Your Highness and your people have made very generous contributions to the various war funds and given tangible evidence of your desire to do everything you can do to fur-

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the laying of the Foundation Stone ceremony of the Hope Stadium and Public Gardens at Porbandar.

ther the cause for which the Empire is now fighting and a striking proof of this is the announcement which Your Highness has just made of further most generous contributions to India's war effort. I am glad to have this opportunity of thanking Your Highness in person for this most valuable support.

I shall not fail to convey to His Majesty your loyal message and assurances.

You have told me of the notable improvements which have been effected in the spheres of Medicine and Education, and I am impressed by the close personal attention which Your Highness devotes to the administration of Your State, an interest which I venture to think may have been fostered in part by the education which you received at the Rajkumar College, Rajkot, where I understand Your Highness had a career of outstanding success. I have heard with great satisfaction how earnestly Your Highness devoted yourself to the work of relieving the distress caused in your State by the recent failure of the monsoon.

It is gratifying to learn that the many and varied Industries of Porbandar are in so flourishing a condition and that side by side with this healthy activity, the agricultural condition of the State has shown a steady improvement. As Your Highness has so rightly remarked Agriculture is India's staple industry and it will be no mean achievement to have added 75 square miles to India's cultivable area by means of the Reclamation Works which are to be started in the near future.

I note with pleasure also that you have turned your attention to the improvement of the local breed of cattle and I feel sure that the institution of annual Cattle Shows throughout the State will provide the necessary impetus

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Opening of the Meeting of the Chamber of Princes.

to this movement, which is of such paramount importance to the welfare of the Indian cultivator.

Your Highness has referred to the important part which the port of Porbandar has for so long played in the economic life of your State and to the enterprise of your mercantile community, whose representatives are to be found in so many parts of the world. The remarkable increase in the population of the City during recent years affords a striking commentary on the encouragement which has been given to this enterprise by the facilities which are offered by the port.

You have been so kind as to say that the Institutions, the foundation stone of which I am now to lay, will serve as a reminder of our visit to Porbandar and, if I may return the compliment, I should like to assure Your Highness that the pleasure with which we shall recall our visit to your State will be deepened by the thought that it has been associated with the inception of the Stadium and Public Garden, where the citizens of Porbandar will in time to come spend many happy hours enjoying the amenities to be provided for them here.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY MADE THE FOLLOWING SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE MEETING OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Opening of the Meeting of the Chamber of Princes on Monday, 17th March 1941 :—

17th March
1941.

Your Highnesses,—It is a great pleasure to me to meet you again this year and to preside over your deliberations, and I extend a very cordial welcome to you all.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Opening of the Meeting of the Chamber of Princes.

I note with great satisfaction that the numbers attending this session of the Chamber are considerably higher than usual. That is, I have no doubt, the result partly of the natural desire of Your Highnesses to participate in discussions at the Imperial Capital during times so critical as those through which we are passing ; partly of the recent revision of the constitution of the Chamber, which has resulted in the addition of no fewer than 26 Rulers to those who enjoy the right of full membership. I would only say that it is a source of sincere gratification to me that of those new members so many should have been able to be present with us today, and in taking the opportunity of welcoming them to the Chamber I would express the hope that this reinforcement will prove a real source of fresh strength and vitality.

It is a great satisfaction to me to know that the hopes which I voiced when I addressed Your Highnesses last year in regard to the termination of the prolonged conditions of famine in Rajputana and Kathiawar have, thanks to a bounteous monsoon, been amply fulfilled, and that the anxieties which weighed upon so many of Your Highnesses and on your people as the result of the famine conditions which prevailed for so long have been alleviated in so marked a degree.

Since the last meeting of the Chamber death has taken a heavy toll, and the state of Limbdi in particular has suffered the loss of two of its Rulers. Those whose loss we mourn today include many close friends of all of us, and many who were outstanding figures in the Princely Order. We mourn the genial figure of His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur. In the person of the late Maharao of Kotah we have lost a Prince whose innate kindliness and solicitude for his subjects were well known. His late

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Opening of the Meeting of the Chamber of Princes.

Highness the Maharaja of Mysore was a personality whose accomplishments would have won distinction in any walk of life. As a Ruler, the manner in which he discharged the responsibilities of his great position, his close interest in the welfare of his subjects, his zeal for progress, for the advancement of justice, for the development of a higher sense of civic duty, and the simplicity of his mode of life, all of them impressed deeply those of us who had the privilege of his friendship and who have been able to see him in his own State, and the example which he set enhanced the prestige of the Princely Order not only in this country but far beyond its borders.

I am confident that it will be the wish of Your Highnesses to offer to the relatives of those Rulers who are no longer with us, and to those who have succeeded to the responsibilities laid down by them, our sincere sympathy in their bereavement and our congratulations and good wishes in regard to the opportunities that lie before them.

When I last addressed Your Highnesses I remarked that up to that time no substantial call had been made on the man-power of India, but I added that, were conditions to alter, and were the war to take a different course, the offers of support of every kind so readily made by the Princes of India, and so deeply appreciated, would be of the greatest value. Twelve months have indeed seen a vast alteration in the position, and the value of the co-operation of the States, and of the generous support which they have given in men, money and material has been proved in the most ample and signal way. The memorable words of appreciation spoken by His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor in the Message to India which I had the honour to make public two days ago will be fresh in

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Opening of the Meeting of the Chamber of Princes.

the memory of all of us. Addressed as that Message was alike to the Princes and the people of India, it brings out in a striking manner the unity of India's war effort, the great assistance she has given at a time of such critical importance to India and to the world, and the significance of the contribution made by the Princely Order and by British India alike. The contributions of the Indian States, under the inspiring leadership of Your Highnesses who are here today, and of other members of the Princely Order, have indeed been great. Their forces have been expanded so that they could go forth to wherever the need was the greatest. By precept and by example they have encouraged their countrymen. They have been unstinting in their financial support, and their emblems are emblazoned today on countless weapons of war and on countless gifts of every kind designed to repair the injuries of war. The value of those generous contributions is enhanced by their spontaneity. If there is any complaint from Your Highnesses, I know only too well from my own conversations with so many members of the Princely Order that it is that the opportunities of service, and particularly of personal service in face of the enemy, have fallen short of your own ardent desires.

It is but natural, given the extent and the importance of the co-operation which the Indian States have given in the progress of the war, that you should have been concerned to play the utmost possible part in the various organizations which have been established to co-ordinate and to develop our war effort, and I have been at pains not only to keep in contact with His Highness the Chancellor and other leading Princes on this matter, but to do all in my power to keep the Indian States in close touch with current events of importance. The technical advisers

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Opening of the Meeting of the Chamber of Princes.

from the Indian States rendered valuable service to India's representatives on that most important body the Eastern Group Conference. The Indian States, in common with British India, will be represented on the Supply Council of the Eastern Group which has now been established, and on which the Representative of India sits side by side with the representatives of the Dominions of Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and of His Majesty's Government, and in touch with the Colonial Governments throughout the area. I would only observe in that connection that I am fully alive to the importance of ensuring that India's Representative on that Council, and my Supply Department, shall be kept informed of the resources of the States, of their anxiety to assist by every means in their power, and of the contributions which they may be in a position to make towards the satisfaction of our ever-expanding needs. As Your Highnesses are no doubt aware the States have obtained representation on the Export Advisory Committee, the Petrol Rationing Conference, the six local Advisory War Supply Committees, and many other organizations established by the Central Government, and it is my sincere hope that the steps which have been taken to bring about the closest co-operation between the Indian States and British India will be of mutual benefit, and will serve the best and truest interests of India as a whole.

His Majesty in his Gracious Message touched on the military assistance given to the Empire's cause by the Princely Order and by the Indian States. I know that the many and varied problems which have inevitably arisen, and which will continue to arise, from the close association of the Indian States' Forces with His Majesty's

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Opening of the Meeting of the Chamber of Princes.

Forces will be fully present to the minds of Your Highnesses. I know, too, how fully you realise the relation of the test of active service to the present system. You will readily appreciate that in uniformity lies simplicity and efficiency. Much has already been done, in the process of assimilation, to diminish the differences that existed between types and conditions of military service in the Indian Army and in the States, and it is my confident hope and my belief that Your Highnesses will approach what problems of this nature yet remain for us jointly to survey, in the determination that the eventual solution shall be that best fitted to serve the interests of India as a whole, and to secure her against external aggression.

The mighty conflict in which we are now engaged must inevitably have reactions of profound importance on all countries and not least on India herself. We are fighting for the cause of human freedom. We are fighting for ideals well known, readily accepted, commanding the full support of all. The magnificent example set by Their Imperial Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress, the way in which they have identified themselves with the feelings, the anxieties and the sufferings of their subjects throughout the Empire, the extent to which they share the common danger, are known to us all. No example more inspiring could have been given. None could be more encouraging to all who are present here today. In India Your Highnesses, representative of innumerable famous Ruling Houses, the inheritors of a great tradition of service, of an authority that has come down to you through long ages, need no reminder from me of the importance of taking all possible measures to safeguard that priceless heritage, to continue to deserve the reverence of your subjects, and to strengthen and buttress the foundations upon which it rests. For this is a time

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Opening of the Meeting of the Chamber of Princes.

of changing ideas and of new political conceptions, and the importance of taking such measures, and taking them in time, needs no emphasis from me. In previous addresses to the Chamber of Princes I had made certain suggestions on that subject. Those suggestions have been welcomed by many Princes, and steps are being taken to adopt them in many parts of India with visible, though not as yet spectacular, results. I do not propose to repeat those suggestions today or to enlarge upon the subject, save to say once more that union and co-operation are the foundation and the source of strength. But to Your Highnesses and to the Princely Order I would make one earnest appeal, an appeal to which I know I can look with confidence for ready response. That appeal is that you should not allow yourselves or your advisers to be diverted by any considerations of a personal character from ensuring that where co-operation is necessary it shall take a form which no reasonable critic can assail on the ground that it is half-hearted. Such co-operation must, I recognise, involve sacrifices—it must involve some surrender, or, as I should prefer to say, some pooling, of cherished sovereignty. But the need for such sacrifices is a stark reality, and I am wholly satisfied that those sacrifices, when they are made, will be amply repaid by results.

Let me in conclusion remark that your agenda brings out most clearly not only that the normal function of the Chamber in such matters as the revision and the development of its constitution continues undisturbed by war time conditions. It brings out also, and more important still, to what an extent it is your wish and your intention that this important and representative gathering, which I am so glad to see here today, shall be turned to wider account,

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Unveiling Ceremony of the busts of Their late Highnesses of Gwalior, Patiala and Nawanagar, in the Chamber of Princes Hall.

and that it shall demonstrate to the world at this critical time how wholeheartedly and unflinchingly the Princes of India share the common determination of all those who owe allegiance to His Imperial Majesty to see the present struggle pursued, with all the energies at their disposal, until victory has been achieved and the ideals for the preservation of which we are fighting secured beyond any question.

I will not further keep Your Highnesses from your deliberations on the many important items that lie before you. There is much ground to be covered, and I am confident that the results of this meeting of the Chamber will be of real and lasting value to Your Highnesses and to your States.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY MADE THE FOLLOWING SPEECH AT THE UNVEILING CEREMONY OF THE BUSTS OF THEIR LATE HIGHNESSES OF GWALIOR, PATIALA AND NAWANAGAR, IN THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES HALL.

7th March
1941.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Unveiling Ceremony of the Busts of their late Highnesses of Gwalior, Patiala and Nawanagar, in the Chamber of Princes Hall, on the 17th of March 1941 :—

Your Highnesses,—I am grateful to His Highness the Chancellor and the Members and Representative Members of this Chamber for inviting me to preside over today's ceremony and unveil the busts of Their late Highnesses the Maharajas of Gwalior, Nawanagar and Patiala. Your Chancellor has paid a moving tribute to the memory of

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Unveiling Ceremony of the busts of Their late Highnesses of Gwalior, Patiala and Nawanagar, in the Chamber of Princes Hall.

these three Princes, all of whom had, by varying and outstanding qualities and achievements, become familiar and popular figures in the India of their day. Nor were their fame and reputation confined to this country. The name of His late Highness of Nawanagar is still a household word in England by reason of his unique proficiency in England's national game. In that, as well as in other more serious spheres of public life, the late Maharaja of Patiala, too, won great distinction, while His Highness Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia's personality was such as to inspire confidence and affection in all with whom he came in contact—from the lowliest of his subjects to the King-Emperor himself. But we are today more concerned with the services they rendered to this Chamber with which all of them were so closely associated from those earliest days when, what was then known as the "Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs" first began to meet here in Delhi.

Of that aspect of their careers His Highness the Chancellor has spoken in sincere and eloquent terms, and I gladly associate myself with all that he has said. In speaking of the late Maharaja Jam Saheb, His Highness' words were very naturally charged with family affection, and the thought will no doubt have occurred to many of us, that nothing would have afforded greater pride and pleasure to His late Highness than to have known that the great office of Chancellor of this unique Assembly, which he himself had held with such industry and distinction, would one day be so worthily filled by his successor on the *gaddi* of Nawanagar.

It will not be a conventional compliment or an undue straining of language if I say that this ceremony for which we have assembled today is, in respect of all the three

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association, the Indian Red Cross Society, and the Joint War Committee.

Princes whose memory it is designed to perpetuate in this place, permeated by a certain filial sentiment, inasmuch as all of them had just claims to be described as fathers of the Chamber of Princes, for they had played no inconsiderable part in guiding the Chamber through its early days. For the vision which enabled them, as His Highness has reminded us, to appreciate its possibilities in the future, and to a great extent to carry them into actual effect, we may well be thankful, and it is for Your Highnesses of the present generation to see to it that the ideals and objects for which the Chamber was founded, and for which those whom we commemorate strove so loyally and well, are resolutely pursued, in the best interests of your Order as well as of India as a whole.

I trust that the marble effigies, which I am privileged now to unveil, will keep alive, for many generations to come, the great reputations which are so fresh in the memories of all of us present here today.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY MADE THE FOLLOWING SPEECH AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION, THE INDIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY, AND THE JOINT WAR COMMITTEE.

**24th March
1941.**

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association, the Indian Red Cross Society, and the Joint War Committee, on Monday, the 24th March 1941 :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is a real pleasure to me to be presiding once again over the Annual General

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association, the Indian Red Cross Society, and the Joint War Committee.

Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society. I offer you all a very cordial welcome, and I should like to thank you, Sir Cameron and General Jolly, and all of you here today, most sincerely for the kind way in which you have referred to the extension of my term in India. I do appreciate very much indeed what you have said, and I am glad to think that this is not the last occasion on which I shall be able to preside over your annual gathering.

There are few fields of activity in this country, extending over the past five years, which I can survey with more satisfaction than my connection with your two great Associations. It is therefore most gratifying to me to notice the increase in the number of Provincial and State delegates who have assembled this year,—at some personal inconvenience, I fear, in many cases,—and the evidence which that provides of the growing interest of our members in their duties and in the work of high national importance which your Associations perform.

Since we last met, Sir Ernest Burdon has retired, and has been succeeded by Sir Cameron Badenoch as Chairman of the St. John Ambulance Association and Chief Commissioner of the St. John Ambulance Brigade Overseas. When I had the pleasure of addressing you last year, I referred to Sir Ernest's great services to the Association, and I welcomed his successor on your behalf.

Sir Cameron has, already, in the course of the brief period he has been in charge, shown that, with him, the interests and traditions of the Association are in good hands. As your President, I extend to him a sincere and hearty welcome, and wish him every success in his office.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association, the Indian Red Cross Society, and the Joint War Committee.

I have listened with interest to the accounts of the activities of the St. John Ambulance Association and Brigade, of the Indian Red Cross Society and of the Joint War Committee, and would like at once to congratulate the executive officers of those bodies on the admirable work they have achieved during the year under review, and the manner in which they have overcome, and are still overcoming, the many and great difficulties which war must bring to organisations like yours. These activities are amply described in the Reports, copies of which are in your hands, and I do not, therefore, propose to examine them in detail, but will confine myself to a few general remarks.

You will have gathered from the speeches you have heard that, even in what I may call their normal work, the St. John Ambulance Association, and the Brigade, have both recorded another year of increased activity and usefulness to the public. Under the Association, a larger number of persons than ever before have qualified in First Aid, Home Nursing and similar subjects ; while, under the Brigade, a new District and several Sub-Districts have been formed. The number of Divisions, both of Ambulance and of Nursing, has grown, with a corresponding increase in membership. As an example of the Brigade's service, your Chairman has referred to the admirable work of the Calcutta Police Sub-District in connection with the Dacca Mail disaster in August last, while, of its war-time activities, I would mention, in particular, the splendid help rendered by the newly-formed Transport Units at the various ports, and the development of the Voluntary Aid Service designed to supplement the Army Nursing Services.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association, the Indian Red Cross Society, and the Joint War Committee.

Turning now to the Indian Red Cross Society, I should like, first of all, to congratulate General Sir Bertrand Moberly on his appointment as Red Cross Commissioner in succession to Sir Hugh Crosthwaite, to whose able initiation and guidance of the Society's war work I had occasion to refer last year. Sir Bertrand needs no introduction from me in this assembly. A more experienced, and hardworking—and, as the Report which he has delivered to us shows, a less complacent—Commissioner, the Indian Red Cross Society could scarcely have found.

I must extend our welcome, too, to Colonel Sir Richard Needham, who has been appointed Commissioner of the Indian Red Cross organisation in the Middle East, and to our old friend, Major-General Sir Ernest Bradfield, who has kindly consented to serve as Honorary Indian Red Cross Commissioner in London.

Since the outbreak of war, the Society has had to stand up to a severe strain. It has, non-the-less, been able not only to undertake the fresh responsibilities which the war has imposed, but also to convey its benefits beyond the shores of India to distant corners of the world ; for it has sent relief to refugees and other sufferers in France, Finland, Poland, Greece, China and Turkey. Despite the preoccupations of the war, the Society was able to act as a channel for the remittance of contributions from all parts of India, totalling Rs. 4 lakhs, to the Turkish Red Crescent, for the relief of sufferers in the great Anatolian earthquake.

It is gratifying to know that, in spite of these unprecedented calls upon its resources, the Society has been able to continue unhampered its normal peace-time activities. Of these, I need only refer to the remarkable

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech at the Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association, the Indian Red Cross Society, and the Joint War Committee.

growth of the Junior Red Cross Movement, which, I am happy to observe, appears to have taken firm root among school-children in this country, and the invaluable service rendered to the women and children of India by the Society's Maternity and Child Welfare Bureau, which has now been established for ten years.

Sir Bertrand Moberly has given us in his Report a general picture of the activities of the Central Joint War Committee. I do not wish to cover the same ground now. There have been difficulties, and some set-backs, for war frequently throws out of gear the best laid plans. We must recognise the difficulties and face them squarely and overcome them. All will yet be well if the lessons that have been learned are swiftly applied ; and in this way the high standard of achievement and co-operation which we have come to expect from the Joint War Committee will be maintained. I have referred to the setbacks, but, I may be permitted also to draw your attention to the fine record of the Committee's achievements, in catering for the needs of the Indian Expeditionary Force in the Middle East and other areas overseas ; in assistance to our prisoners of war—an activity of which it may well be worth considering a wider extension in this country, to relieve the heavy burden on the British Red Cross—and lastly, through the introduction of the system of Indian Red Cross Postal Messages, for enabling people to communicate with relatives in enemy or enemy-occupied territory.

No account of such war activities would be complete without some mention of the magnificent and devoted service that is being voluntarily performed by ladies' work

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Provincial War Committee, Madras.

parties all over India, in making garments for sick and wounded troops, and in the most necessary task of building up reserves of Red Cross Stores to meet future demands.

I have been closely associated with your two organisations for a fairly long time now, and have had as full opportunities as anyone else of watching and appreciating the way in which all of you have discharged your self-imposed duties. During the time we have worked together you have worthily maintained your traditions and have added strength and new resources to your two great institutions, which are serving India so well. You and your officers have set a high standard of public service and have established a wide range of humanitarian activities. The struggle in which the forces of civilisation are now engaged has called for redoubled efforts by all of us, and you have answered the call readily and well. I know that your enthusiasm will not flag and that you will continue to pursue your high ideals of service with undiminished energy, and to such practical purpose that, when victory is ours, your share in the attainment of it will have been no small one. I wish you all success in your endeavours.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY MADE THE FOLLOWING SPEECH TO, THE PROVINCIAL WAR COMMITTEE, MADRAS.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following speech to the Provincial War Committee, Madras, on 31st July 1941:—

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—When I last had the pleasure of meeting you, a year ago, almost to the day, we had been through an anxious month or two. What the immediate future held in store we did not know; but we did at least know that the road to Viceroy would be long

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Provincial War Committee, Madras.

and rough, and by no means straight, and that we, who had determined to travel it, must be in hard training for the course. Twelve months have passed, and although none of us can say that Victory is yet in sight, or just round the corner, we do know that we have got our second wind, and are going strong, and that Victory is nearer by twelve months than it was. It is well to recall what has happened in these twelve months ; the Nazis have overrun a great deal of territory ; and, having broken the teeth of their Luftwaffe on Great Britain last autumn, and having failed (with the notable exception of the Deputy Fuehrer), to set foot voluntarily on British soil, they have turned their faces eastwards, and have challenged, with an excess of confidence which may prove to be their undoing, a new and formidable foe. More recent events, which are still fresh in the news, have shown that not from one direction only has the war been brought perceptibly nearer to this country than before.

But, achievement has not been all on the side of the Nazis and their friends. In North Africa the Imperial Forces have beaten up and destroyed an Italian army, and, though the enemy later recovered lost ground, he is still further from Suez to-day than he was a year ago in East Africa, after what will rank as one of the most brilliant operations in military history, another Italian army has been broken up, and Mussolini's Empire is no more ; in Iraq we have intervened successfully to draw the teeth of a Nazi-inspired but ill-timed revolt, which might have proved dangerous to our line of communications ; and a timely advance into Syria has denied the enemy valuable bases for military operations there. In the past eight months the names of Sidi Barrani and Al Mechili, of Keren, Amba Alagi and Damascus have been inscribed in shining letters in the already glorious annals

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of the Indian Army. It is significant that the great Commander who directed these campaigns with such success is, now charged with the defence of India herself.

Satisfactory though the solid achievements of the last year have been, I see no reason to suppose that the year 1942 will not be, like its predecessors, a year of blood and toil, and tears and sweat. There is no excuse for slackening in our efforts, and Madras, I know, has not slackened hers. You lead the Provinces of India in the voluntary contributions which you have made for war purposes. These have already reached the splendid total of one million pounds sterling, and three of your districts—East Godavari, Madura and Guntur—have topped (or nearly reached) the ten lakhs mark.

I am glad to be able to tell you that, in return for a contribution received from you last year, the first operational aircraft to be assembled in India for the Indian Air Force, will be named MADRAS. Already, three Fighter Squadrons in the Royal Air Force—one of Hurricanes, one of Spitfires, and one of Defiants—for which you have subscribed, carry the name of Madras into battle, and that is a record to be proud of. The Madras Defiant Squadron, I was delighted to see, has the highest bag of enemy planes—37 in a day—of any Fighter Command Squadron.

I was privileged, the other day, to convey to the Corporation of Madras the thanks of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies for a contribution towards the defences of Singapore. That was a valuable and imaginative gift, and it is a right instinct on the part of Madras to look to the soundness of the Eastern bastion of our defences. On the safety of Malaya depends ultimately, to a great extent, the safety of Madras.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Provincial War Committee, Madras.

This Presidency has subscribed two crores and eighty-one lakhs of rupees to Defence Loans out of a total, for the whole of India, of 69 crores of rupees. I make no secret of the fact that even the all-India total falls far short of what is required. The Government of India needs at least Rs. 100 crores a year—2 crores a week—from Defence Loans to meet expenditure on Indian war measures and the proper financing of war supplies operations in India. The cost of war supplies made by India to His Majesty's Government and to Allied Governments is repaid in sterling, but the actual payments to suppliers in India have to be made in rupees, for which a large volume of loan money is required—larger than we are getting at present. I hope that you, gentlemen, whose efforts have been so remarkably successful in the raising of war gifts, will not neglect this most important matter of encouraging subscriptions to war loans.

In the actual production of war supplies Madras has played a substantial part. Your Railway Workshops are engaged in the production of munitions; and, to name a few other essential items, textiles, leather goods, timber, chemicals and motor chassis are being produced in valuable quantities from this Presidency.

As for recruitment, I was able last year to congratulate you on the fact that, in the first nine months of the war, recruitment to the Army from Madras had been over ten times as great as the normal annual recruitment from the Presidency. Since then great strides have been made, and I soon hope to see a monthly recruitment rate of 5,000 reached in this Presidency—which, as I do not need to all you, produces soldiers of a very special type and quality—largely as sappers, pioneers and mechanics—who have already rendered most valuable service in this war.

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One of the four new Regiments recently approved by His Majesty is the Madras Regiment. It is intended that the battalions of this Regiment should be formed by regularizing existing Territorial Battalions, but this can only be done successfully if volunteers in adequate numbers come forward from the Territorial units to form the nucleus of the regular battalions. So far, I am sorry to say, the number of volunteers has not been as many as one might expect. I know how eager Madras was that this Regiment should be raised : I look to you, gentlemen, to see, now that it has been raised, that it is kept fully up to strength.

Hardly less important in the field of war effort than the production of money, supplies and recruits, are those humanitarian activities which lighten, for soldiers and civilians alike, the suffering caused by war. In this, Your Excellency's Joint War Charities Committee has not been backward. In the first year of the war you raised money which supplied ambulances for the British Red Cross and in the Middle East. Later you were able to turn your attention to the requirements of the Indian Expeditionary Force in Malaya, and Madras became the main port in India for the despatch of stores to the Far East—a role which is not likely to be diminished in importance. Your 200 work-parties produced nearly 300,000 articles during 1940 as well as contributing their share to the Central Red Cross Depot in Delhi : this year you have further undertaken a Red Cross postal message scheme, which has been of special value to your French neighbours in Pondicherry, and you have opened a War Stores Depot which has admirably discharged a heavy burden of work throughout the trying summer months.

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In addition to these, your Hospitality Committee, with which Clubs, charitable organizations and private individuals are co-operating, has been most zealous in the entertainment of troops stationed in or passing through Madras.

In the collection of war funds in the Presidency you have concentrated on aeroplanes, and to a lesser degree on ambulances. I do not need to remind you that the comfort and well being of the men who are fighting for us are also objects deserving the utmost generosity. I therefore commend to your attention, ladies and gentlemen, the need for mobile canteens and amenities for troops generally, but the supply of these should be co-ordinated through the Committee of the Central Amenities for Troops Fund.

The outstanding success of the Madras Governor's War Fund is, if I may say so, not only a tribute to the energy and the powers of persuasion of Your Excellency, and of many other gentlemen here this evening, but also an illustration of the value of planned and concentrated propaganda. When last year I congratulated your Propaganda Committee on the work which they had already done, I said that iteration and reiteration was the secret of success in that field. It is work of the greatest importance, and there is no limit to its usefulness. What you are already doing, with the help of the Madras Government, through hundreds of reading circles and with your 12 propaganda vans, fitted with loudspeakers and cinema projectors, is most valuable ; keep it up, and let there be more and more of it.

I said earlier in my speech that the war had come perceptibly nearer to India, and not from one direction only. The significance of this for Madras, particularly in

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Speech at the Provincial War Committee, Madras.

regard to Air Raid Precautions, will not have escaped you. I was studying the other day, with a great deal of interest, the arrangements which have been made in this city and in the other towns of the Presidency where air-raid precautions are considered to be necessary. However complete the preparations by Government, or by the Corporation or the Defence Services may be, the success of air-raid precautions depends in a very large degree on the willing co-operation of every private citizen. For the safety of your city and of your neighbours, and of yourselves and your families, I cannot too strongly urge you—every man and woman—to give to the utmost the assistance which is required of you. I can hardly do better than repeat what, last year, the minister of Home Security, Sir John Anderson, said to the people of Britain about this :—

“ In this war every man and woman is in the front line. A soldier at the front who neglects the proper protection of his trench does more than endanger his own life ; he weakens a portion of his country's defences and betrays the trust which has been placed in him. You, too, will have betrayed your trust if you neglect to take the steps which it is your responsibility to take for the protection of yourself and your family.”

When I was last in Madras, your Civic Guards were a newly raised body. This year they are veterans with more than a year's training and experience behind them. Their importance, as a means of enabling the ordinary citizen to play his part in the defence of the State, and the maintenance of public safety and of public order, remains as great as ever. His Excellency the

His Excellency the Viceroy's Address to Bombay Civic Guard.

Governor has seen them at work in nearly every district and tells me how keen they are and what excellent work they are doing—and that is most reassuring news.

I congratulate you, ladies and gentlemen, on another year's good work. Go to it, as you have been doing, and stick to it ; and so you may put up your Vs. for Victory to-day, confident that you have helped to bring the day nearer when you shall be able to spell out that word to the last letter.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS TO
BOMBAY CIVIC GUARD.

4th August
1941.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Address to Bombay Civic Guard on the 14th August 1941 :—

Officers and men of the Bombay Civic Guard,—You who have voluntarily undertaken the duty of keeping the public peace and preserving the safety of your fellow citizens in this great city, may justly claim that, in patriotism, in loyalty and in unselfish devotion to duty, the spirit which animates you and the services which you render are excelled by none.

To few civic bodies, raised for the purpose of defending law and order, can it have been given so soon and so creditably to win their spurs. I have read with admiration of the magnificent part which the Bombay Civic Guards—the motorised unit, and many others whom I see before me today,—as well as your colleagues in Ahmedabad—played in maintaining order and helping the police during the recent communal disturbances. That was a fine example to all other members of these Civic Guard throughout India.

His Excellency's Address to Bombay Air Raid Precaution Volunteers.

There is no doubt that the best recruiting sergeant you can have is the reputation you have already earned so well : and I can say with every assurance that the more there are of men like you, the better it will be for India. I am proud to have seen you on parade today, and greatly encouraged to feel that the steadiness, the smartness and the workmanlike bearing of the men I see before me is typical also of the other thousands of the Civic Guard in the districts of Bombay, whom I am not privileged to see today. Your movement is steadily gaining strength throughout the Province, and there is a growing realization of its value in the public mind. From the rapid progress you have already made, I can say without hesitation that the future of the Civic Guard here and elsewhere in India is full of promise.

Keep it up—Victory is not yet won. But it is a good omen that I should see you drawn up today in ' V ' formation, for it is on men such as you—public-spirited, undaunted, ready for any sacrifice and determined to keep the home front intact, wherever the tide of battle may roll,—on men such as you that the attainment of Victory at last in this long and bitter war depends. Good luck to you all.

**HIS EXCELLENCY'S ADDRESS TO BOMBAY AIR RAID
PRECAUTION VOLUNTEERS.**

His Excellency's Address to Bombay Air Raid Precaution Volunteers on the 14th August 1941 :—

14th Aug.
1941.

Officers and men and women of the Bombay A. R. P. Services.—You are the citizen defenders of your homes and of your neighbours' homes, the protectors of innocent men, women and children from that most devastating form of modern warfare—bombing attacks from the air.

His Excellency's Address to Bombay Air Raid Precaution Volunteers.

India has so far been fortunate that in nearly two years of war no hostile aircraft has approached her shores. But that is no reason for complacency : if we have learned some lessons from this war, these are surely among them—that however far away the noise of battle may sound today, tomorrow it may be at our gates. This is an all-in-war, and the front line is in the homes of each of us. Above all we must have learned by now to shed complacency. You have not been complacent in Bombay, where even before the war, a beginning had been made with A. R. P. ; and I have followed closely and with the greatest interest the steady and healthy development of your organisation. Today I am proud to have been able to inspect your Rally and to see from your demonstrations to what a high standard of efficiency you have trained yourselves. Your fellow citizens, too, should be proud of you, and thankful to you for the sacrifices you have made of leisure and comfort, to equip yourselves for the defence of your great city.

Do not for one moment relax your efforts ; do not give way to that most insidious of your enemies—more treacherous than any fifth-columnist—I mean, Boredom. Nine-tenths of the business of waging war is intensely boring. There are long periods of waiting and watching and preparing for something to happen, which may never happen at all, and then creeps in the fatal temptation of wondering whether one is doing any good by all this vigilance and preparation ; whether all this expenditure of time and energy and money is worth while. At all costs put that temptation behind you. The moment for which you are preparing *may* never come, it is true ; but no one can tell—it may come when you are least expecting it ; and if it comes when you are unprepared, then you are beaten before you have started to fight.

*His Excellency's Address to Bombay Air Raid Precaution
Volunteers.*

So keep it up, all this good work of yours, and, as I said to your colleagues of the Civic Guard, just now, your enthusiasm and your efficiency, your tact and your perseverance will be your best recruiting sergeants.

I hope a great many people listened to His Excellency the Governor's Broadcast last night, and his emphasis on the need for co-operation with the work of the A. R. P. Services by every private citizen, and by every employer, in offices, in workshops, in factories. I hope Bombay will not prove slow to answer the call for volunteers, and that his appeal for 20,000 new recruits in four weeks, will be over-subscribed before the opening day.

The war is a long way from being over yet. All the patience and skill, all the courage and endurance, of you and thousands more like you, will be required for many months to come, to ensure that our defences are strong and our spirit unbreakable. Even when the war begins to turn in our favour, we shall have a long and rough passage before us—for we have got to make a good job of it this time. We are just getting out teeth into the Nazi now ; but he is a powerful animal, and desperate ; he can do a lot of damage yet, and he may still swing us off our feet once or twice, before we get to his throat and bring him down. But let us hold on, and assuredly we shall bring him down—this time for ever. When that day comes, you officers, men and women of the Bombay A. R. P. services, will have your reward. You will know that you have played a very real part in the winning of the war : you will have manned your trench and kept your part of the line of battle intact. You will deserve well of your fellow citizens, and of India, and I hope, on that day, you will be the first to break your own black-out regulations, and light in the sky an enormous ' V ' for Victory, which will blaze half-way across the Indian Ocean.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S BROADCAST.

3rd Septem-
ber 1941.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Broadcast on the 3rd September 1941 :—

My Friends,—This night, two years ago, I spoke to you in a solemn hour. I spoke, then, of my confidence that, at a time when all that is most precious in the civilization of the modern world stands in peril, India would play a part worthy of her place among the nations of the world.

I was not wrong. War, like the bursting of a great dam, released the waters of destruction on the world. The noise of these waters was far off when India set herself to meet the storm ; to man her own defences as well as the outer bastions of her fortress. In two years, the tide of war has rolled much nearer to our shores—and not from one direction only. But India stands firm. Her young men have come forward to answer the call for service on the sea, on the land and in the air : her factories, her mills, her dockyards are working night and day to produce the munitions and equipment, the ships and vehicles of war : her Princes and people have poured out their wealth in free will offerings to meet the cost of war : her citizen defenders have enrolled themselves in tens of thousands to protect their homes and to secure the public peace ; and the world will not forget how, after the darkest hour of the Allied cause, Indian soldiers went into battle on a December morning in the Western Desert, as the spear-head of a great attack, and won at Sidi Barrani our first resounding victory.

Today, India is the focus-point of the nations and territories of the Eastern Group. In Egypt, in the Sudan—whose people have shown their gratitude by a splendid gift—, in Eritrea and Ethiopia ; in Iraq, Syria and Persia, the armies of India have sought and found glory on many fields. They have dealt faithfully with

His Excellency the Viceroy's Broadcast.

the Italian Empire, which lies in ruins in East Africa ; they have forged new links in the comradeship of arms and have protected great neighbouring nations against the imminent or actual threat of the invader.

India is awake ; she is mighty and formidable ; and she shall, if you so determine, be mightier yet.

Men and women of India, be proud of your sons and brothers. Not only of your soldiers, sailors and airmen, but of all those others too, who are playing their part, not always spectacular, but none-the-less valuable, in this total war. The merchant-seamen of India ; the men in the factories and in the fields ; the civil servants and the police ; the civic guards and the A. R. P. services ; the businessmen who cheerfully undertake, each of them, three or four men's work in the interests of national service ; the women workers and many others who give of their best whether in money or service. These too are playing their part in this mortal struggle. They have not been privileged to stand in the front-line of battle ; to their lot has fallen the less exciting but necessary work of war behind the lines ; but on their patience and perseverance and on their stout-hearted confidence depends, no less than on our armies forces, the ultimate triumph of our efforts to rid the world of the obscene pestilence of Nazism.

There are those amongst us who would like to reap the harvest of victory without having put their hands to the plough. Others there are who for one reason or another are not ashamed, though the nation stands in grave peril, to seek to divide the people, to weaken the war effort, to destroy confidence. But that is not the spirit of India. Do not, I beg of you, let this insidious fifth-column eat, like dry rot, into the fabric of your determination. Be united, stand firm and preserve. It was in the spirit of co-operation that our soldiers scaled

His Excellency the Viceroy's Broadcast.

the heights of Keren and Amba Alagi, and stormed Damascus : it was in that spirit that they broke through the iron ring at El Mechili, and are continuing the heroic resistance at Tobruk. When the tremendous conflict which we are witnessing passes into history, it will be deeds such as these that will be inscribed, for India's honour, in golden letters on the banners of victory.

I have asked that next Sunday shall be observed as a Day of National Prayer. The virtue of prayer lies in thanksgiving, faith and resolution. We have much to be thankful for. Great Britain, the British Empire and our Allies have taken some hard knocks, but we have given them too ; and we stand on infinitely firmer ground today than we did twelve months ago. But the war is by no means over ; we may not yet have travelled even one-half of the long and rough road. We may be sure that there are before us many months of agony and sweat and sacrifice, and it will take all our courage and resolution, all our faith and patience, to win through, with God's help, to the end. We must try to deserve the strength, which, next Sunday, we shall ask God to give us. If you think you are giving all you can, give twice as much ; if you think you are working as hard as you can, work twice as hard. I speak to you as comrades in this high endeavour, as fellow travellers along the hard and testing road of duty and of honour. Please believe me that your personal effort, your contribution, your support, are greatly needed and are truly appreciated.

Some of you will remember an allegory, in a book that was written close on 300 years ago, of a pilgrim who was beset upon his journey by the foul fiend Apollyon, who said " Prepare thyself to die ; for I swear by my infernal den that thou shalt go no farther ; here will I spill thy soul " ; and how the pilgrim fought back manfully for

*Speech by His Excellency the Viceroy : Annual Speech Day at
the Bishop Cotton School, Simla.*

many hours, and, at the last, though wounded and weary, he saw an opportunity and gathered his strength and his courage to strike at the fiend the deadliest blow of all that fight : at which Apollyon " spread forth his dragon's wings, and sped him away ".

We must make an even better job of our Apollyon : he must not get away. The Nazi and all his works must perish utterly from the earth. Be resolute, keep your eyes on the goal and keep your hearts high, and so, for the generations that are to come, Hitler shall mean no more than a name to frighten children with, a shadow of dragon's wings across the sun.

Good night, and God be with you all.

SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY :
ANNUAL SPEECH DAY AT THE BISHOP COTTON
SCHOOL, SIMLA.

Speech by His Excellency the Viceroy : Annual Speech Day at the Bishop Cotton School, Simla, Saturday, the 13th September 1941 :—

13th September 1941.

Your Excellency, Your Grace, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Good-byes are sad things, so I am going to make those I said last year serve for this year as well. I have derived a great deal of satisfaction from my association with ' Bishop Cotton '. I am sorry that that association must soon come to an end. But you may be sure that my wife and I will always keep in our hearts a very warm corner for the School.

Head Master ! We have all heard with lively satisfaction, your report of the state and progress of the School for the last 12 months.

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It is particularly good hearing that, in spite of all the changes and disturbances consequent upon the war, the examination results have made such a satisfactory showing.

I congratulate all concerned on the progress of the Preparatory School. I take note too that you are making preparation for still further expansion above the 315 boys which is your present strength.

I am quite sure that everyone, Masters and boys alike, must have worked together whole-heartedly to achieve, in the face of many difficulties, the good results described. Education is a vital service, it must not be interrupted. This is your contribution towards the war effort and it has been well done. Keep it up.

Accept my congratulations upon your successes in the realm of games and sports. See you go on winning ; but see to it, also, that you don't get swelled heads.

It is of interest to me that I should be speaking to many boys who have had to face a change of schools, because I once had that same experience myself. I remember how curious it seemed to find that so many of the customs and conventions of my first school should not be observed at the 2nd :—I refer of course to the rules made by the boys ; the ones we never broke ! Turning up your coat collar ; or not carrying your umbrella rolled up ; or having to walk on one side of the street till you had reached a certain place in the school—all of them obviously matters of immense importance. Then again, one started the new life with the feeling that it could not be as good as the old. But all that soon passed, and I came to see that once again I had happened on the best of all schools. Indeed, I am sure you have found it easy to settle down here, and to be happy and at home in your new surroundings.

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Opening of the
National Defence Council.*

If you can come to be men as good as the best that 'Bishop Cotton' has turned out, you will have cause to be for ever grateful to this School.

Farewell, and may all good fortune attend your ways.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT
THE OPENING OF THE NATIONAL DEFENCE
COUNCIL.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Opening of the
National Defence Council on Monday, the 6th October 1941 :—

6th October
1941.

Your Highnesses, Begum Shah Nawaz and Gentlemen,—This is a business gathering, and I am not going to make a long speech to you today. But I would like in the first place to extend to you the warmest possible welcome to this the first meeting of the National Defence Council, and to say how deeply I appreciate your public spirit in attending, in many cases, I know, at very great personal inconvenience. I would like, too, to say a word about the significance of this occasion, before we go into our secret session, and to touch very briefly on recent developments in the great part which India is playing in this war.

This occasion is one of great significance. For the first time the representatives of the Indian States and British India are met together to consider and discuss the war position and India's war effort ; to receive from myself and from my advisers information on important aspects of these matters ; to give my advisers and myself the benefit, the value of which I cannot over-estimate, of your own suggestions and advice. It is my hope and belief that this meeting will be the first of many, and that the contribution which these meetings will make to the

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Opening of the
National Defence Council.*

removal of misunderstandings, to the furtherance of our common cause, to the stimulating still further of efforts already so generously and widely made throughout India, will be great indeed.

In the National Defence Council, composed as it is of representatives of the Princely Order and of the Provinces of British India, there has been established a body truly representative of all elements in the national life of India, whose sole object is the intensification of the war effort and the prosecution of the war. My object and that of my Government will be, during our secret deliberations, to acquaint the National Defence Council to the fullest degree, and in the fullest confidence, with the position in relation to all important aspects of the war effort ; to obtain the benefit of their advice ; to improve and develop liaison ; and so to secure that, in a war that is as much India's war as the war of Great Britain or of any other part of the Empire, the Princely Order, and the Provinces of British India, are seized, through their representatives on the Defence Council, of the problems that confront us from time to time in the conduct of the war, of the greatness of India's contribution, and of the background to, and the justification for, the magnificent effort which India is putting forth.

There could be no more appropriate occasion than this to refer to the superb contribution so far made by India to the achievement of the ideals for which we are fighting. She has without stint poured out men, money and supplies. Her fighting men, whether by land, by sea, or in the air, have covered themselves, and the land of their birth, with glory. In the face of every device of modern warfare, in conditions often most difficult, in unfamiliar surroundings, India's fighting men, whether they come from the Indian States or from the Provinces

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National Defence Council.*

of British India, have shown outstanding valour and endurance, and have added still further honour to the martial traditions of this country. The Empire and India owe them a debt of gratitude, a debt that will never be forgotten.

In paying the tribute that I have to the gallant fighting men of India I would associate with it a word of gratitude for the immense assistance given us by our neighbour, the warrior kingdom of Nepal, to the sympathetic and enthusiastic support and co-operation of whose Prime Minister we owe so much, and whose troops have played their part with the distinction which we have come to expect of them in the various theatres of war in which they have been engaged.

In the field of Supply, India has again made a contribution of immense significance and value, a contribution recognised throughout the Empire, a contribution that has in no small degree helped to bring home to many distant lands not only the great natural resources of India, but the high intelligence and skill of her craftsmen and her workers, and the readiness of all to play their part at times like these. My Supply Member will be able to give you some idea of what has been done in this field. Let me say now only that the location in India of the Eastern Group Supply Council is in itself a tribute both to the importance of her strategic and geographical position and to the magnitude of the assistance which she has given, can give, and will continue to give to the common effort.

The generous stream of contributions in gifts and loans, in money and in kind, for the purchase of munitions and equipment, of planes, of tanks, of ambulances; for the alleviation of suffering and the relief of distress which

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Opening of the National Defence Council.

has flowed from India since the war began, is undiminished today. I pay my deep and sincere tribute to the magnificent generosity of the gifts that have been made by Your Highnesses of the Princely Order, by the Provinces of British India, and by that great multitude of individuals throughout the country whose desire is to hasten by their personal sacrifices the day of victory for our cause.

As the war goes on, every day reveals more clearly the place which India has won for herself in the world. She is today the base of operations for great campaigns and great strategic movements. The Commander-in-Chief, whom we are glad to welcome back today from his consultations with the Cabinet, with His Majesty's Representatives, civil and military, in the Middle East, and with our Russian Allies at Teheran, bears a responsibility which few, if any, of his predecessors in that great office can have held ; and in the discharge of that responsibility from India he links India still more closely with those mighty movements that are taking place around us. India, as I have said, is the centre of the great Supply organisation which serves the vital military needs of countries ranging from Australia to South Africa. Her contribution in fighting men has been on the grandest scale, and will be greater yet. She is ready, as we know, to make sacrifices greater still in every way than those which she has so far been called upon to make. We may be proud of the achievement of India. We may be certain that that achievement will not fade from the memory of the nations.

Your Highnesses, Begum Shah Nawaz and Gentlemen—I do not propose to detain you further. We have before us a long and heavy agenda. But I would like

*Reply by His Excellency the Viceroy to the Statement by the
Burma Indian Deputation at the Viceroy's House.*

again to say how glad I am that we should all be meeting here today and how confident I am that our joint discussion and our joint labours will ensure to the great benefit of India and to the benefit of the Empire as a whole. Anxious times, a long and arduous struggle, great responsibilities, heavy burdens, lie before us still. Let us look to it, one and all, that our response, in these critical days for our country and civilisation, is worthy of the call.

REPLY BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY TO THE
STATEMENT BY THE BURMA INDIAN DEPUTA-
TION, AT THE VICEROY'S HOUSE.

Reply by His Excellency the Viceroy to the Statement by the Burma Indian Deputation, at the Viceroy's House on Friday, 7th November 1941 :—

Gentlemen,—I am glad to have this opportunity of meeting you in Delhi and of hearing from you in person the views which you have so clearly and concisely expressed on the Immigration Agreement with Burma. I need not stress to you the keen and sympathetic interest with which the Government and the people of India watch the fortunes of their compatriots in other parts of the world. I know that special problems exist for you in many spheres of activity and, so far as India can help towards the solution of those problems, I can assure you that legitimate appeals for assistance will not go unheard. It is my earnest desire, as I know it is that of all you gentlemen, that not only in these difficult times, but also in the days to come, all components of our great Commonwealth should work harmoniously for the betterment of all classes and communities which they embrace.

Reply by His Excellency the Viceroy to the Statement by the Burma Indian Deputation, at the Viceroy's House.

You have spoken of your apprehensions should the Immigration Agreement be implemented as it stands, and you have referred to your understanding of certain statements made in Parliament when the Government of Burma Act was under consideration. You have also been good enough to formulate the particular points which, in your opinion, require adjustment if the Agreement is to meet the special conditions of Indian residence and interest in Burma. You will not expect me to discuss these particular points with you ; I shall of course take careful note of them and you may rely upon Mr. Aney, who is now the Member of my Council in charge of matters affecting Indians Overseas, to give them his earnest consideration. I have no doubt that you followed with keen interest the recent proceedings in the Legislative Assembly, and you will have gathered that the Government of India have given full attention to the volume of public criticism which has been directed against the Agreement. We have ourselves come to the conclusion that in certain respects the provisions of the Agreement might operate in a manner which we had not intended and which would cause undue interference with Indian interests. We have conveyed to His Majesty's Government the objections which have been voiced, and we have suggested that some modification and clarification is desirable before the Agreement is given statutory force. How this should be achieved is a matter for particularly careful consideration, and is engaging our earnest attention. I need hardly remind you that in all agreements, whatever their substance, some measure of mutual adjustment is inevitable. While we on our side may have a clear view of all that we should like to secure, so also has Burma. It is in a

*Reply by His Excellency the Viceroy to the Statement by the
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reconciliation of what may appear divergent or even conflicting interests that, the essence of negotiation and subsequent agreement lies. I have no reason to doubt—and I am glad to note that you have suggested none—that the Government of Burma are anxious to provide for the contentment and security of all communities who form part of their permanent population. I have been told that there has for long been a tradition of friendship and goodwill between Indians and Burmans in Burma. That in itself is the best augury for the future, and the importance of maintaining and developing that tradition calls for no emphasis from me. Differences of opinion are bound to exist, and to arise in future, but so long as that spirit subsists their solution in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and tolerance should serve only to cement the ties of friendship still more firmly.

You have spoken of the shock, to use your own words, with which the Indian community in Burma first became aware of the full terms of the Agreement, and you have added that your Committee in Rangoon were not informed of all that was contemplated. I think you will agree with me that little is to be gained by traversing past misunderstandings. I think you will also agree—and I am sure this cannot have been your implication—that the Government of India and their delegate had nothing to gain by withholding anything from you intentionally. It is now our task rather to look to the future than to the past and to lend all our best endeavours to securing and maintaining that goodwill and co-operation without which no agreement, however favourable its terms, can avail.

It only remains for me, gentlemen, to express again my pleasure at having this chance to meet you, and to wish you a safe return to Burma and your homes there.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to the Employees of the Tata Iron and Steel Company's Works at Jamshedpur.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH TO THE
EMPLOYEES OF THE TATA^o IRON AND STEEL
COMPANY'S WORKS AT JAMSHEDPUR.

12th Decem-
ber 1941.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to the employees of the Tata Iron and Steel Company's Works at Jamshedpur on Friday, the 12th of December 1941 :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am most grateful to you for the welcome which you have given me, and for this opportunity of seeing the great work which is being done in Jamshedpur. Iron and Steel are the passwords of today : they will open the gates to India's future industrial prosperity, and they will win us the victory which must be won, if safety and prosperity are ever to be tasted. I have been intensely interested by what I have seen during this short visit. You have reason to be proud of your membership of the largest steel-producing unit of the British Empire, and proud of the work you are doing. I have been greatly encouraged to see that work, and to see that it is good. I have seen it through the eyes not only of your Viceroy, but of one who knows from personal experience what is the point of view of the soldier in the front line. In the last war, as in the present one, the aggressors started with a big material advantage in munitions and equipment. It is a disheartening experience for the soldier when his guns can only reply with one shell against every hundred fired by the enemy's guns ; or when he has to face a hundred enemy tanks with ten. But, if the soldier knows, as we knew in the last war, that there is a tremendous effort going forward in the munitions factories at home to give him as quickly as possible the weapons he needs, he can and will hold on until those weapons are in his hands. It is up to you to see that the tools which you send to the soldier are good, that he gets them quickly, and in such

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to the Employees of the
Tata Iron and Steel Company's Works at Jamshedpur.*

numbers as not merely to restore the balance, but to give him an overwhelming superiority, so that he can finish the job once and for all.

In the Great War of 1914—18 this country sent overseas hundreds of thousands of tons of steel, which were used in our campaigns in Mesopotamia, Palestine and East Africa. In this war already about a million tons of your finished and semi-finished steel products—rails, structural sections, plates, sheets and bars—have been supplied for war requirements, and large quantities of your pig-iron have found their way even to Great Britain.

The stress of modern warfare calls for special qualities in steel, and it is in the production of special steel that this Company has shown imagination, foresight and energy of the highest order. Your Control and Research Laboratories are the finest of their kind in the Empire, and, as a result of their work, there is flowing from Jamshedpur,—from this Steel Works and from the other closely associated factories in this area—in a steady and ever-increasing stream, a great variety of special alloy steels, high speed steels for machine tools, bullet proof armour plate and many other essentials for the armies and factories of today—from steel helmets to stainless steel for surgical instruments ; and from tin-plate and barbed wire to that special cable which is the answer to Hitler's secret weapon, the magnetic mine.

You have kept in the forefront of new developments and processes. As evidence of this I have seen today the armour plating of splendid quality, which is rolled and treated in your Works, being made into the bodies of fighting vehicles in the East Indian Railway Workshops. I shall be keenly interested to learn of the results of the bold and courageous experiment on which you are also

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to the Employees of the Tata Iron and Steel Company's Works at Jamshedpur.

engaged, whereby, for the first time, acid steel will be made direct from Indian raw materials. The new plant for this purpose will add to the growing number of your products, which, before the war, had to be imported from abroad. You are leading the way in showing that India can and should rely more and more on her own treasure-house of material resources and the skill of her own workmen to make her strong and prosperous.

Yours is the task to forge the shield as well as the spear-head of our armies in their mortal struggle. But you are not content with that. After your long day's work, you look to the defence of your own homes and workshops. The importance of air-raid precautions in a place like this needs no emphasis from me. My own eyes can testify to the energy and enthusiasm which you have brought to this voluntary work and the progress which you have achieved in the organisation, recruitment and training of A. R. P. workers and Civic Guards. I warmly congratulate you all—staff and management alike. It has been a fine effort, and an example and inspiration to many other parts of India.

Very generous gifts in money too for war purposes have come from Jamshedpur-Golmuri. Three figure planes of the Royal Air Force carry the name of your district, and you have given 14 armoured "carriers" to the Indian Army. Your investments in War Funds have exceeded half a crore of rupees, and your Publicity Committee has been doing most valuable work.

All of you, I can see, are determined to fight this fight out to the limit of your powers; and all of you are determined which side will win. We shall win this war—but there is a stern task before us yet. How soon we shall win it depends on the skill and the preserverance you, and

*His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Annual Meeting of
the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta.*

of men and women like you. Never be content with your effort ; never let it flag ; then victory will soon be ours, and Jamshedpur will be free to turn to the great part she is bound to play in the reconstruction of a peace-time world.

You workers in Iron and Steel hold the industrial future and the present safety of India in your hands. That is a great trust and a great responsibility, but the skill, the industry and the readiness of every man and woman among you will, I know, prove equal to it.

The soldier who looks to you for your powerful co-operation will not ask in vain. He stands in the front line of battle, but you are standing at his shoulder, and it is the strength you give which will drive his swordarm forward, carrying destruction to the Nazi and to all our enemies.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT
THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATED
CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE AT CALCUTTA.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Annual Meeting
of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on 15th
December 1941 :—

15th Decem-
ber 1941

Your Excellency, Mr. President, Gentlemen,—I thank you most warmly for the welcome you have given me here today, and I need not say how great a pleasure it is to me to meet you again, or how greatly I esteem the privilege that you have extended to me of addressing you. This is the sixth occasion on which I have had that privilege. You know how much importance I attach to the opportunity it gives me of speaking at large on matters of great moment not only to the commercial community, which you, gentlemen, represent, but to an audience wider far.

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Before I proceed with my remarks I hope you will allow me to say how glad I was to hear the tribute which you, Sir, have paid to His Excellency Sir John Herbert. Few people can know better than I do the zeal and the enthusiasm which he has displayed in his most heavy and responsible charge, and the pains at which he has been not only to acquaint himself with the problems of that charge on paper, but to make close contact with every corner of the Presidency, and, through his own example, and his own keen interest, to encourage every endeavour that has been made in support of the war effort of Bengal.

In your speech today, Sir, you touched on a number of points of great importance, and I will do my best in what I have to say to comment on them. I should like also, with your permission, to say a brief word towards the end of my speech on the Indian political situation, and on the developments that have taken place in it during the last twelve months. But today, wherever we may be, the matter of first importance, the matter of vital importance, the one thing that dominates our thoughts; the one thing that demands every ounce of energy that we can spend, is the successful prosecution of the war and its successful outcome. And it is therefore of the war, and of its fortunes over the last twelve months, and of India's contribution to it, and the help that India has given and is giving, that I would like in the first place to speak.

Today the minds of all of us are full of the wanton and unprovoked aggression of the Japanese against the British Empire and against the United States of America. Like master like man, says the old proverb. The Japanese have if possible improved on the example set them by the Nazis of deceit, of cold-blooded disregard of the most solemn obligations and, I trust also, on a long view, of

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short-sightedness. There is little I need say to you today in a case so clear, at a juncture so critical. A more infamous betrayal of those principles which Japan has in the past claimed to venerate and to uphold would be difficult to parallel. The warning is clear to all of us, as it is clear to the small nations. This new and heavy addition to our responsibilities is one that we must bend every nerve to deal with and to master. And in handling that task we shall have with us, I am certain, as fully as in the earlier phases of the war, the goodwill, the heartfelt sympathy, and the support of India as a whole.

When I addressed you last year the Empire was but recovering from the blow inflicted on it by the defeat of our French allies, and the collapse of France. We were through the worst. We had stood up to the heaviest battering that any nation could have had to face. We had survived with success many months of acute peril and immense strain ; and we were in a position to look forward with confidence to 1941.

1941 has not belied the hopes that we entertained a year ago. It does not see the end of the war. There are before us many critical months, months in which we shall pass through grave anxiety, in which we shall suffer heavy losses, in which we shall have to bear the strain of critical situations, before the desired outcome is achieved. But we are a year further on the way. The year which has just passed has been marked by many events of the utmost significance. The enemy's endeavours to strangle us by sea have failed. The Battle of the Atlantic still goes on, and will go on. But the threat it constitutes, and the burden it represents, are less great by far those a year ago.

By land, we have liquidated the Italian Empire in Africa. In that great task, with which the name of our present Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency General Sir

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Archibald Wavell, will forever imperishably be associated; the part played by India and Indian troops was of the first significance and of the highest value. I have the Commander-in-Chief's personal authority for the outstanding quality of their effort and of the contribution that they have made. India's troops, fighting at Gondar a few days ago, fighting in North Africa as I speak to you, are maintaining the highest traditions set by the Indian Army in the past, and by their comrades in the earlier phases of this war. In Iraq, in Persia, in both of which countries Axis endeavours to turn to their advantage, by Fifth Column methods and insidious propaganda, the weakness of individuals have been foiled, Indian troops have played their part. There is I think some risk that recent events in the Far East may divert attention from the great and glorious victory which General Auchinleck and the troops under his command, splendidly supported by the Royal Navy and the Air Forces of the Empire, have won, against very important German and Italian forces, in North Africa. In the long and gruelling battle between forces very evenly matched, Indian troops are playing a highly distinguished part. The strategic importance of this battle will, I am convinced, prove to be very great; and it is most heartening to notice that, upon the first occasion that we have met the Germans on terms of equality in numbers and armament, our men have proved their superiority.

From the United States of America, to which our sympathy goes out with such sincerity and depth in the shocking aggression of which they have been the victims, the Empire has had, and continues to have, help of inestimable value. Let me say in that connection how great a happiness it has been to me to see during my own term of office, and at a juncture so critical as the present, the bonds between the United States of America and India

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more closely knit by the appointment as United States Commissioner to India of Mr. Thomas Murray Wilson, so well known to many of us here ; and by the appointment of Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai as Agent-General of India in America.

When last I addressed you, few of us anticipated that a still more blatant exhibition of cynicism was to be given by a breach of relations between Germany and Russia, and by the wholly unprovoked, and wholly unjustified, onslaught made without a moment's notice, or a word of warning, by the Nazis on a nation to which they were bound by every form of engagement. Russia has had to meet and to carry the shock of a devastating and an unprovoked attack. But her response has been magnificent ; and I know gentlemen, that I speak for you all today when I say that the deep and sincere good wishes of everyone of us go out to Russia and to her people in the battle they are waging ; and that there is no one of us who does not feel admiration, real and profound, for the supreme example which she and her people have given to the world of courage, resolution, and tenacity.

We have been at war for two years and a quarter. We have suffered heavy losses, grave setbacks. But we have much to show in the result ; and it is my sincere belief that, with the lessons of the past behind us, we can face the very testing times that lie ahead with confidence, and well-founded confidence, that we shall face them with no less resolution and no less courage, whatever may lie in store for us, than the Empire, and than India, have shown since the day that the war began.

India's contribution to the war and to its successful outcome was great indeed even a year ago. In the twelve months that have passed since we met its growth has been

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immense. His Majesty's Government have shown themselves most anxious to take advantage of the men, the munitions, the supplies of various kinds which India is so well qualified to give, and which India has always been so anxious to give. The number of our fighting men who are defending India overseas is three times what it was a year ago, and ten times what it was two years ago. The organisation of our supply system has been, I will not say perfected, for there is always room for improvement in any system, but it has been brought to a pitch of performance which commands admiration, and the results of which are striking in the highest degree. Let me pay due acknowledgment to the part which your help and your constructive criticism have played in that achievement.

In every form of warlike display we are playing our part, indeed more than our part. In every form of financial contribution—for weapons, for equipment, for amenities for the fighting forces, for the relief of distress arising from the war, India, the States and British India alike, remains most generous and open-hearted. And the spirit of this country, since it first recognised what was involved in the struggle in which we are engaged, has remained, and remains, calm, firm, convinced of the necessity of victory, ready to do and to give all in its power to bring victory about. But there is always *more* for us to do. There are always ways in which as a country and as individuals we can make a still greater contribution. I am ready to ask for the impossible, and I know that if I do I shall get a ready response, not only from you, gentlemen, and the great commercial community which you represent, but from all classes and from every part of India.

Let me turn now to some of the important matters on which you have touched in the course of your remarks.

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They are without exception directly connected with the war, for we have reached a stage now at which there is no activity in this country, no activity indeed anywhere in the Empire, that does not directly or indirectly affect, or arise out of, the prosecution of the struggle in which we are engaged.

I would like in the first place to say a word about supply. You can imagine how deep a satisfaction it has been to me to hear, Sir, the encouraging and the friendly words which you were good enough to use today of the work of my Supply Department. I can bear personal witness to the intensity of the efforts made by the officers of that department since the beginning of the war, and to the anxiety both of Sir Zafrulla Khan and of his distinguished successor, Sir Homi Mody, to see that the very best results possible are achieved, whatever the difficulties that may confront us. The progress made has been due in part to plans laid well over a year ago by those who founded the Department and who saw it through its early troubles. But the two great factors in our progress have been the establishment of the forward programme and the creation of the Eastern Group Supply Council.

The forward programme has made it possible to enter into contracts for six months at a time, and to get industry into continuous production. The Eastern Group Supply Council has beyond any question most markedly stimulated the war effort on the Supply side in India, and in the Dominions and other countries represented in the Eastern Group. The Eastern Group Conference gave the representatives of the various Governments concerned a clear idea of the industrial potential of their neighbours ; and I would like to take the opportunity to add that India has had a very full share of the orders that have so far been

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placed through the Council. The opening of a great new theatre of war in the Far East will provide a sharp test of the elasticity and soundness of our provision and supply organisations. I have every confidence that these will emerge with credit.

I think that you will wish me to give you, as briefly as I can, a few outstanding facts which speak for themselves. The production of steel is being rapidly stepped up by the efforts, to which I should like to pay a warm tribute, of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, and the Steel Corporation of Bengal. Before the middle of 1942 production should touch a rate of 1·25 million tons per annum ; and that is not a final figure, for a substantial increase upon it may be looked for. I would like to say a word of praise and of thanks in this connection for the efforts of the Tata Iron and Steel Company (whose works I have just had the pleasure of visiting again) in producing special steels, notably armour plate and bullet-proof welding electrodes.

All the Ministry of Supply Mission projects approved by His Majesty's Government are now well launched and work upon them is proceeding as fast as possible.

Civil armaments production, which encountered initial difficulties of some substance, is now shaping well, and the production of empty shell is satisfactory. There are difficulties still to be overcome in the production of certain munitions components. But the work done during the last twelve months has not been wasted, and I am satisfied that we may reasonably take an encouraging view of prospects.

India's shipyards are employed to capacity in the construction of mine-sweeping trawlers and other small naval craft, as well as in repairs to ships of the line and merchant vessels.

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Progress has been made, I am glad to say, in stimulating and developing the Indian machine tool industry, and simple machine tools are now being manufactured in India in fairly large quantities. Engineering stores are being manufactured in very large quantities indeed, and, though there are still hold-ups owing to the uneven flow of material, the fabricating workshops are fully occupied. The demand for woollen textiles still absorbs India's capacity to the full. Cotton textile demands are increasing very rapidly, and the great cotton textile industry, whose capacity we would all of us at one time have thought to be almost inexhaustible, is now beginning to feel the strain of the demands placed upon it both for direct war purposes and for various purposes arising out of war conditions. The Indian silk industry will shortly assist in the war effort by providing the material required for the extensive manufacture of man-carrying statichutes in India. Demands for timber have risen to an unprecedented level. The Government clothing factories are now turning out over 8 million garments a month. Leather manufactures are being organised on the same lines as clothing, and the value of the monthly output already exceeds Rs. 1.25 crores. The output of motor vehicles assembled in India has been much increased, and so far as armoured vehicles are concerned, India will be able to produce all the armour plate required for a considerable programme. India will shortly be producing her own refined sulphur, and valuable progress has been made in the production of vital chemicals, such as bichromates, and of medical stores, including both drugs and equipment.

1941 saw something like a four-fold increase over the greater part of the Supply field, and the demands of 1942 may be literally gigantic. You will be with me in feeling that the main consideration at present is that India should

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prepare herself for the immense burden likely to fall upon her in 1942 and subsequent years. As I speak to you today, we can claim already to have achieved great results. For those results I am profoundly grateful, not only to my Supply Department, but to the willing co-operation of industry, which has been so generously given, and which is of such vital and essential importance. I would ask that that co-operation should continue to be given with the same fullness as in the past, and if it is—and I need not say how entirely confident I am that it will be, even when under the stress of war difficulties may sometimes seem unsurmountable—we need none of us have any doubt or fear lest India should fail to play her part to the full in this vital area of war effort.

You referred, Sir, to the growing demands on industry and commerce on account of the war production programme, and to the shortage of skilled labour which is making itself felt. In that connection you sounded a note of caution that production not required for the direct prosecution of the war should not be closed down; and you reminded us that while the paramount need for Commerce and Industry is to man, equip, and maintain the most effective possible fighting force, they must not be entirely unmindful of their own preservation. I can at once assure you that it is no part of the policy of my Government to close down industrial production merely because it is not required for the direct prosecution of the war. But, inevitably, war work is in an increasing degree causing demands on material and labour at the expense of the normal operations of certain industries.

As regards skilled labour my Government has done, and will continue to do, its utmost to train such labour in increasing numbers, to give special facilities for such train-

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ing, and to ensure that available skilled labour is used to the best advantage. The labour position, save in regard to certain specially technical labour connected with engineering, is, happily, easier in certain regards in India than in other countries. Though there has developed a shortage of highly skilled and skilled labour, it is doubtful whether there is yet a shortage of semi-skilled, and there is no lack of unskilled. There is, however, a shortage, and a shortage keenly felt, of supervisory and administrative staff. This is true in particular of European managerial and supervisory staff owing to the scheme of compulsory military service which has been introduced, and to the eager response that there has been to the call for men. I agree entirely that every action possible to foresee difficulties, and, consistently with the winning of the war, to provide for them, and to watch the preservation, in your own words, of Industry and Commerce, must be taken. I feel certain that the National Service Tribunals with their large majority of non-official business men, will be concerned to bear in mind the legitimate claims of industry and commerce, and to see that the depletion of this staff is not carried too far.

In your remarks, Sir, you touched on the very remarkable growth of war-time industries in India and on the question of their post-war future, and you urged the need for all the help required if many of those industries are to survive economically in post-war conditions. That important question has been constantly before me and before my Advisers ; and in the Budget Session of 1940 the Government of India formally stated that they were prepared, in the case of specific industries started in war conditions, to give assurances that such industries, after peace was restored, would be given some form of protection against competition from abroad. That assurance was inevitably

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confined to specific industries, since in each case the scope of the industry, its needs, and the part that it will play in the general economy of the country, have to be considered. There are cases where an industry does not satisfy the conditions referred to as regards its position in peace conditions, and where its establishment is essential for war purposes. In those cases the Department of Supply makes the practice of encouraging production by a variety of *ad hoc* methods, certain of which will protect the industrialist from loss. In some cases the State has itself found the necessary capital under appropriate conditions.

Apart from this, the question of post-war economy, with special reference to industrial development, is engaging the close and constant attention of my Government. Some time back it was announced that post-war Reconstruction Committees would be constituted to examine various aspects of post-war economy, and to deal with problems likely to arise in post-war conditions. These Reconstruction Committees are in the course of being constituted, and they will include a strong non-official element. One of them, the Consultative Committee of Economists, has already started work. I sincerely trust that these Committees, and their deliberations will contribute materially to the solution of some of the problems to which you have referred.

In the circumstances of today the problem of civil defence assumes an importance greater than ever. I know what energy and zeal has been devoted in Calcutta to the handling of that problem, and to the development of passive air defence, an energy and zeal on which I warmly congratulate the Presidency, and which will carry its own reward. I am glad to think that the whole of this very vital issue is now being handled, in consultation with

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the provinces, by a single Civil Defence Department at the headquarters of my Government, and that, in dealing with it, I have the assistance, in Mr. Raghavendra Rao, of an adviser who has himself had much practical experience at home and who has had the advantage also of a very close contact with the Ministry of Home Security.

You have rightly stressed the important part which transportation plays in modern warfare—and, I would add, in our whole economic life—and the importance of securing the best use of the available facilities. These unfortunately have never been fully adequate for the needs of the country, and the war is bound to involve an increasing strain on them. My Government has been encouraging the establishment of Boards at the leading cities to co-ordinate transport over large areas, and I recognize that as the war goes on, it may be necessary to impose further control than is operative at present. But compulsion always involves a certain sacrifice of elasticity and we are anxious to leave as much liberty to private enterprise as is compatible with the fullest war effort.

I listened with close attention to the observations which you, Sir, made in your speech on the problem of inflation. I welcome the prominence you gave to this subject, and, while you will not I know take me as endorsing all that you say in this regard, I would congratulate you on a lucid analysis of one of the most baffling of present-day problems. I personally am satisfied, on the best advice available to me, that there is as yet no undue cause for alarm, and that the situation has so far proved reasonably amenable to control. But the bitter experience of so many countries of post-war Europe shows the havoc, the distress, the social injustice, which uncontrolled inflation is capable of causing ; and all who have at heart the interests of

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India and its people must do their utmost to prevent the vicious spiral from taking hold of this country. My Government have been, and are, giving the matter their constant and most anxious consideration. But the ramifications of the problem are complex, possible counter-measures are beset with administrative difficulties, and in our efforts to deal with it we need, and will, I assure you, most gratefully welcome, all the advice and all the active assistance which we can get from the commercial and the non-official world.

I do not propose to detain you with comments on the special factors which have contributed to the substantial price advances of particular commodities, or on the measures which have been taken, or are in contemplation, by my Government to ease the position in those cases. The encouragement and stimulus of increased production where feasible is the most obvious, the most effective, and the most generally acceptable course of action. But unfortunately its scope is in present circumstances strictly limited, and other and more drastic action may often become necessary. You have referred to price fixation as one of the possible methods of attacking the problem, and you have emphasised its limitations. I need hardly say that my advisers are fully conscious of the fact that mere price fixing by itself can seldom provide a complete cure, while any attempt to check the rise of prices, whether of primary products or of manufactured articles, not infrequently arouses hostility and opposition on the part of the interests immediately affected. And rationing of articles of common consumption, which is the almost inevitable corollary to control of prices, presents in a vast country like India greater practical difficulties than in countries smaller and more highly organised. But I can at once assure you that my Government are quite prepared to

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resort to methods of direct price control where they are satisfied that such action can with advantage be taken, and they will not hesitate, where need be, to follow up this preliminary measure with such control over supply as may prove to be necessary and practicable.

You spoke of the danger of inflation which may result from rising wages, and the increased purchasing power thereby created in the hands of a vast number of employees. You distinguished between the case in which higher wages are passed on to the consumer in the form of a higher price for the product, and the case in which the increased wage bill is met entirely out of the higher profits accruing to the employed. But you suggested that even in the latter case there must still be a considerable inflationary effect, a proposition which I am not disposed to dispute. It is, I think, generally recognised that a higher standard of living, based upon a war-boom, has inherent elements of instability, and that there is a limit to the extent to which rising wages and earnings result in a real improvement, owing to the development of shortages in the supply of consumable goods. This applies not only to luxuries, but also to certain necessities, such for example as textiles. But it is, I think, possible to exaggerate the direct influence on the situation of the demands of labour, and it is important to realise that there are other, and perhaps more fundamental, factors at work as well. War-time taxation undoubtedly contributes to the avoidance of the dangers of profit-inflation, but this remedy can at best be only partial. It needs to be supplemented by the avenues for saving and investment provided by the Government of India's Defence Loans. And, if workers are to obtain the full benefit of their higher money wages, they should save as much as possible, and by doing so at once safeguard their

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own future position and help to prevent rises in the prices of consumers' goods which can be of 'no advantage to them.

I trust that you will bear with me if I elaborate this last point a little, for I regard it as a matter of first importance to India's war-time economy. With rupee expenditure on military and war supply activities standing, as it now does, in the region of 20 crores a month; with imports both from belligerent and from neutral countries subject to severe restrictions; there is a clear and imperative need for withdrawing as far as possible the surplus purchasing capacity so as to prevent the inflationary rise in prices which, as you rightly point out, everybody dreads. It is here that my Government rely on, and, I am confident, will receive, the utmost assistance and co-operation from the non-official world. In all Provincial Defence Loan Committees there is a large non-official element, while those in Bengal, Bombay and Madras are I believe entirely non-official. I am deeply grateful to them for their admirable work. In particular I would like to congratulate Calcutta on the magnificent result—over 10 crores of rupees—of its recent National Defence and Savings Week. Such special efforts are of the greatest value, and I cannot too warmly commend their examples. But the situation demands persistent and unremitting effort. Of the 20 crores a month which I have just mentioned a substantial portion must pass directly into the hands of the urban industrial workers, and through them to a vast number of other humble folk who live entirely outside the realm of income-tax, excess profits tax, and defence bonds. I would urge that all possible encouragement and assistance be given to them to conserve their savings by investment in Defence Savings Certificates, the Post Office Defence Savings Bank, or the Savings Stamp and Savings Card;

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and I am sure that I can rely on you, gentlemen, and on all employers of labour, by your personal influence to help in a matter the importance of which in times such as these I cannot easily exaggerate.

When we last met, I spoke to you of the proposals in the constitutional field, which, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, I made on the 8th August 1940. I was at pains to analyse those proposals in detail. I tried to bring out their far-reaching character ; their great potentialities ; their real significance both immediate and for the future. I repeated that they reaffirmed, as the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown, and of the British Parliament, the attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth. I emphasised the concern of His Majesty's Government that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in framing the future constitutional scheme ; the far-reaching significance of their decision that responsibility for the framing of that future constitutional scheme should, subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed upon her, be primarily for Indians themselves. I referred to the readiness of His Majesty's Government to see set up, after the conclusion of the war, with the least possible delay, a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life, to devise the framework of that scheme. I repeated that, pending the conclusion of the war, His Majesty's Government were only too anxious to welcome and promote any sincere and practical step taken by Indians themselves to prepare the way for agreement about the form and procedure of this post-war body, and about the principles and basis of the constitution. I spoke of the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to see that

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sufficient degree of general agreement in this country behind any constitutional changes which is so essential if there is to be harmonious working. I made an appeal to all parties to sink their differences in times such as these, when the fate of everything that we all of us hold most dear is in the balance, and to co-operate in the defence of those common ideals.

My appeal did not secure the response for which I had hoped. I determined however to wait in the hope that the passing of time would make a difference, for I wanted to give every possible chance to the major parties to come together on the basis of these proposals. I hoped, too, that the increasing pressure of the war, and its swift approach to India, would influence the decision. I was anxious, finally, as I always have been, to secure, for the expansion of my Government and for the other arrangements which I had in view for associating opinion in India more closely with the conduct of the war, the support of the great political parties. *

As you know, gentlemen, I was disappointed in those hopes. But, though I was prevented from going ahead on the lines which I proposed in August of 1940, I would repeat that the guarantees, the undertakings, the pledges, the intentions, and the attitude of His Majesty's Government, as explained in my statement, towards future constitutional development and the machinery by which it is to be brought about, are as valid today as when they were first spoken. But, given the increasing pressure of the war, I could not, in justice to India itself, longer postpone, because of the absence of support from the great political parties, the creation of additional departments in my Council, the reorganisation of the work of that body, and the taking of steps or the association of non-official opinion with what was going on.

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It was in those circumstances that, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, the reorganisation announced in last July took place. That reorganisation did not have any basis other than administrative convenience. But in making it, though I could not look for help from the political parties, I was anxious that I should get the best men I could, the most representative men, men of real standing and importance in this country. In that I can claim to have succeeded. Though the reasons for the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council in the form which it finally took were those that I have explained, the process of expansion, the fact that as part of it there disappeared the European and the official majorities that had been the characteristics of that body for so many years, the transfer to non-official gentlemen of the highest standing and reputation in this country of great departments of State, with joint responsibility for all the business that comes before the Governor-General in Council, was a step the significance of which is far greater than I sometimes think is realised. Its immediate importance is great. On the long-term view it is likely to prove to be even greater.

Let me add that during the few months that my expanded Council and I have been working together, I have, if I may say so, been most deeply impressed by its approach to the problems which come before it, by its wide grasp of the diverse issues that at all times fall to be considered, by its strong sense of corporate unity, by the independence of view of its members, and by the happiness of the atmosphere that has throughout characterised our confidential discussions. And we have had many major issues to consider during the time that we have been together. The Council in its present form is a body of great authority and great distinction. It represents wide

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experience, political and administrative. On it are members of different communities, from different parts of India, service and non-service European and Indian. I would like to express to this important audience my own judgment of its entire competence in the administrative field, and my own appreciation of the value of the assistance which it has been able to give me on wider political issues. It is a strong, effective, and distinguished body ; and India may be well content that in the direction of affairs she is so well served today.

The second limb of the new arrangements which were announced in July was the establishment of the National Defence Council, and I would like to pay a tribute to the patriotism and public spirit of those gentlemen who have accepted my invitation to join that body. As you know my intention was (and is) that Prime Ministers of Provinces shall be *ex-officio* members. In these last few days we have welcomed to it the Maharaja of Parlakimedi, who on the happy occasion of the restoration of normal parliamentary government in Orissa, which we all of us so much welcome, has become the Prime Minister of that Province ; while with the formation of a new Ministry in Bengal, the Chief Minister of Bengal becomes a member of the Council.

The establishment of the Council is a most important landmark. I think that those of you, gentlemen, present here today who are members of it will support me when I say that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and his military, naval and air advisers, have been at pains to give the utmost information in their power, information, too, of a most secret character, to the Defence Council ; and that it has been my anxiety in other fields equally to put its members in the fullest possession possible of what we are doing, of our difficulties, and of the directions in

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which we would welcome their help. The value of its discussions has been very great and that not only because of the many constructive and helpful suggestions made by the Council. Those discussions have enabled us to make the Rulers of the Indian States, and the representatives of non-official opinion throughout the Provinces of British India, fully aware of the facts of the situation ; and they have brought about a liaison between myself, my Government, the Indian States, and the Provinces of British India the value of which I cannot overstate.

But, while the two steps which I have just mentioned are of great significance and of great hope for the future, our main problem still remains unsolved.

While in five provinces the constitution is functioning normally with the assistance of the legislature, in six others its normal operation remains suspended. There could be no better advertisement of the practicability and the advantage of normal parliamentary government than the success with which it has been worked in great provinces such as Bengal and the Punjab, and in areas presenting problems so different as do Bengal and the Punjab, Assam and Sind. And it remains to me a bitter disappointment that those in other provinces who had asked for and had accepted the burden of government should have thrown it down so lightheartedly, at a moment of such crisis in the fortunes of the world and of India, and with so little consideration of what was involved. That that decision has provoked many regrets I am well aware. I can but hope that we may yet see the day when, in the provinces which are still without a ministerial government, we shall see in power governments set on the winning of the war and ready to use the immense power and opportunities at their disposal.

*His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Annual Meeting of
the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta.*

And if the the provincial position is as I have described it, there still remains unbridged the gulf between the parties as regards the future Government of India. That that problem remains unsolved is due to no lack of goodwill, no lack of earnest effort on the part of His Majesty's Government, the Secretary of State and myself. We have left nothing undone to bring the parties together, to try to provide the materials for an amicable agreement between them, to try to smooth India's path to the realisation of her goal. At the critical point which matters have now reached in the international situation I would ask again whether it is not possible for the divisions that unhappily exist to be bridged ; and for India, which has made, and is making, so immense a contribution to the war, which stands for so much in the history of the world, to go forward as one in support of ideals in which we know that she believes, and for which there is such overwhelming and general support throughout the country. And it is my earnest prayer that the common detestation of the wickedness against which we are fighting today may reflect itself in that agreement in the internal political field which it has always been our hope and desire to see achieved.

Let it not be forgotten that when this war broke out India, in provincial autonomy, had begun to move, had indeed made a most important step along the road, to that equality of status with the Dominions which it has been our object to achieve. That the more complete fulfilment of that process by the establishment of Federation should not have been realised by the date of the outbreak of the war has always been a profound grief to me. Had we been able, before the outbreak of the war, to have brought federation into being, so many of the problems that confront us now would have been solved. No better constitutional basis could have been found on which to develop

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the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta.*

the efforts of British India and the Indian States in a partnership which would, I believe, have been as fruitful of unity and concord in the years to come as of military advantage in the issue that immediately confronts us. Underlying the federal scheme there was a majestic conception, the work of the best brains of India and Great Britain, elaborated with the utmost care, designed to bring this great country to a constitutional position equal in status and character to that of the Dominions. None of us overlooked the difficulties. They have always been great. They have always been obvious. They should not be insurmountable. But I will not be misunderstood when I say that they are in no small measure domestic, and that a closer collaboration between parties, communities and interests in this country would go far to pave the way for the final work of the post-war period even if, during the war, the obstacles to handling in detail all aspects of the vast and complex problem of constitutional development may be insuperable.

We stand today at a crucial moment in the history of mankind. Throughout the world mighty forces are engaged in a titanic struggle the outcome of which will affect the destinies of the human race for centuries. In the Far East the clouds that we have watched gathering for so long have burst in a storm that brings the menace of war even more closely to this land. India is no mere spectator of these tremendous events. They affect her vitally and she is playing an outstanding part in them. Let us in such circumstances forget our domestic differences and work together as a whole for that common object the attainment of which is so vitally necessary to India and so anxiously desired by all her people.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech to representative workmen from the Metal and Steel, and Rifle Factories at Ishapore.

Gentlemen, I will not keep you longer. I thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me today. When I addressed you a year ago I thought that if you did me the honour to ask me to speak to you at your meeting this year it would be for the last time. A seventh year in this great office would in any circumstances, even the most peaceful, be a heavy burden to carry. A seventh year in circumstances such as those of today, when so much has been crowded into one Viceroyalty, and so many issues of most critical importance have fallen to my lot, is no light matter. For the best part of six years, you have given me, in full measure, the powerful aid of your comfort and support. I trust that you may find me deserving of these for yet another year, in which I shall strive, if strength is given me, to fulfil to the utmost of my powers the great charge which His Majesty has once again been pleased to place in my hands.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH TO REPRESENTATIVE WORKMEN FROM THE METAL AND STEEL, AND RIFLE FACTORIES AT ISHAPORE.

29th December 1941.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech to representative workmen from the Metal and Steel, and Rifle Factories at Ishapore on Monday, the 29th December 1941 :—

I am glad to be with you today here at Ishapore, and to witness the good work you are doing. I wish each one of you to understand that you are engaged on a most important task. On your individual effort, and on the speed and efficiency with which you carry out your work

*His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech to representative workmen
from the Metal and Steel, and Rifle Factories at
Ishapore.*

may depend victory and the safety of our brave soldiers. Let nothing distract you from your work. I count on you to maintain the even flow of weapons and material from these factories whatever the difficulties. Please at all times remember that somewhere in the thirsty deserts of Africa or in the dangerous swamplands of Malaya, Indian soldiers are waiting for that which you and only you can give them. I know you will not fail those brave men who face constantly such great perils. Just as I rely upon you, so also do those soldiers trust you to help them with the products of your labour. You who are engaged here day by day in arduous, honourable, and manly toil are playing an essential part in the war effort of India, which today is admired by the whole world. You are also helping to shape the new India that must be born after this great war is concluded, an India in which we must strive to secure that our expanding industries shall thrive in balanced harmony with an improved agriculture to the betterment of the mass of the people.

All who work in great factories understand that the output of the works and the safety of the workers depend upon efficient and active management in full co-operation with the supervisory personnel and labour staffs. I desire to congratulate Mr. Hill and Mr. Jenkins, and their colleagues throughout the works on all that I have seen today. I admire the fine spirit that I have observed amongst all grades of the staff. I have the strong conviction that you at Ishapore work as a happy family. Give of your best ! Pull together ! Comfort one another ! So will you best give aid to your motherland in this time of her greatest need.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of the Indian Seamen's Home in Calcutta.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH ON THE
OCCASION OF THE LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION
STONE OF THE INDIAN SEAMEN'S HOME IN
CALCUTTA.

3rd January
1942.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of the Indian Seamen's Home in Calcutta on Saturday, the 3rd January, 1942 :—

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It gives me great pleasure to lay this morning the foundation stone of the building that is to serve as a Home for Indian seamen in Calcutta.

Sir Thomas Elderton has described briefly the genesis of the scheme for the establishment of a Home for Indian seamen, and has paid tribute to those whose united efforts have today resulted in the fruition of that scheme. Of the admirable work done by the Seamen's Home Committee, however, Sir Thomas has made no mention, and I should like here to express my appreciation of the thoroughness and care with which the Committee, under Sir Thomas's able guidance, have performed their task. I should also like to express my own and my Government's gratitude to the Ministry of War Transport, whose spontaneous offer of a contribution to the cost of the Home has afforded signal proof of their solicitude for a body of men whose loyalty and devotion, courage and endurance have been unsurpassed, even in the rich annals of the British merchant service. No less valuable has been the assistance received from the Government of Bengal, the Port Commissioners, the Seamen's Welfare Association, and from shipping companies. To all of them we owe a special debt of gratitude. I should like to take this opportunity also of announcing that I propose to make a grant from my

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of the Indian Seamen's Home in Calcutta.

War Purposes Fund of three lakhs of rupees for the provision of amenities in this Home, and I am sure that the many donors, who have so generously contributed to my Fund and have left the application of their gifts to my discretion, will readily approve the use of their money to make easier the conditions of life for a class of men, whose daily work forms such a mighty part of India's war effort.

I regard it as a real privilege to be associated with a scheme of such benevolence. There are few forms of service which so command our admiration and our gratitude as the profession of those who follow the sea. It is hard and it is often dangerous. It takes the sailor far from home, and rest from his labours is usually inseparable from unemployment. Yet, for those who have felt the call of the sea, the opportunities for service and adventure which their calling offers transcend its perils and privations. Inured by discipline to unrelenting vigilance in the performance of their duty they bring to us by their labours the rich fruits of international trade and commerce. Surely no cause could be more worthy, or more deserving of our warm-hearted support than that of these Indian Merchant Seamen.

In Bombay a sister institution to this one commemorates the heroism and the sacrifice of those seamen who served and suffered and died in the last war. A grateful public erected as a monument to their memory a residential Home where new generations of seamen could live in comfort and freedom from want such as was unknown to those who had gone before. The wheel has turned full circle, for today's ceremony coincides with a fresh crisis in our history. Once again freedom and tradition and culture, all that is priceless in our heritage, is in jeopardy in face

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of the Indian Seamen's Home in Calcutta.

of a ruthless challenge to civilization. The struggle has now spread to all parts of the globe, and on the merchant navy has devolved the vital and formidable task of maintaining the interchange of essential supplies between the countries, scattered far and wide, who are united in their determination to destroy the common enemy. In this great task the Indian seaman is playing a magnificent part. Many are the tales told of the unflinching courage shown by Indian seamen in the last war. Conditions of warfare are no longer the same; the hazards of the sea are more incalculable, the peril from the air harder to endure. The sailor in the tramp steamer is exposed to the same risks as the soldier on the battlefield, but unlike the latter often is ill-equipped to defend himself. Despite these heavy odds, the Indian seaman of today has maintained unsullied the high traditions of his forefathers. In the number of men offering themselves for service there is no diminution, and there can be no example of devotion to duty more heartening and more inspiring to all of us engaged in this stern struggle than that of men, shipwrecked more than once by enemy action, seeking without hesitation a further opportunity of employment on the high seas.

Here, in Calcutta, it is fitting, that there should be founded an institution consecrated to the welfare of these worthy sons of India. From this great port go forth every year tens of thousands of Indian seamen. Many of them are strangers to this city, and during their sojourn here, most of them live in conditions of great discomfort. To the people of this city, it must be a source of satisfaction that this state of affairs is at last about to be removed and that there should be founded for the convenience of the seafaring classes a modern Home rivalling, in size and

*His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address presented by
the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.*

in the amenities to be provided, any similar institution in any part of the world. May the Home to be erected on this site prove a sanctuary for the seaman waiting for a ship and, no less, for the tired sailor home from the sea !

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE
ADDRESS PRESENTED BY THE KARACHI CHAM-
BER OF COMMERCE.

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address presented 8th January
by the Karachi Chamber of Commerce on the 8th of January 1942 :—

Gentlemen,—I should like first of all to say how greatly I appreciate the kind terms in which you have welcomed my wife and myself to Sind and to its capital. The war has indeed imposed greater responsibilities and preoccupations on all of us. It has, of course, also strongly underlined the importance of Karachi as one of the main gateways of India, and we are glad to have this opportunity of seeing and hearing how it fares with you here.

I have listened with close attention to the two important matters to which you have referred in your address. The first of these—the problem of Karachi's water-supply—is, as you say, a domestic problem, but one of the very greatest importance, particularly in view of the rapid increase in the City's population. It is not a new problem, and I am aware generally of the lines on which it has been sought to find a solution in the past. I am glad to know that the question of providing an adequate and permanent water-supply has now passed the exploratory stage and that a definite scheme has been prepared. As regards financial assistance, this is clearly not a matter on which it would not be possible for me, or on which you

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address presented by the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.

would expect me, to commit myself or my Government in any way whatever. I am sure, however, that you recognise the importance, before any request for assistance from outside is put forward, of showing that every available means has been explored and will be adopted of financing the scheme, by taxation and retrenchment, to the greatest extent possible from the City's own resources.

I have listened also with interest and sympathy to the remarks which you have addressed to me on the closely related topics of rising prices and of price-control. As you have rightly pointed out, rising prices are due partly to local conditions and partly to circumstances which affect the whole of India—I would go further and say circumstances which are affecting the entire world economy. From the standpoint of the consumer, it is the widening margin between sale price and the price of acquisition by the retailer which attracts most attention, and here I would remark that, so far as the necessities of life are concerned, to which you particularly refer, powers have already been delegated by the Central Government to the provincial authorities, and it rests with these latter to make as full use of them as local circumstances will permit. It is manifestly impossible for the Central Government to interfere at the retail stage, but it must confine itself to coping with the sufficiently difficult problem of the control of wholesale prices. This it has every intention of doing as necessity arises, but I would point out that properly organised markets exist only in the case of certain commodities, and where, owing to the nature of the commodity, no wholesale market in the full sense exists, the task of the Central Government is indeed a hard one. But my Government are fully aware of the increasing urgency of the problem and of the desirability of close integration between the respective spheres of the Central Government and the Provinces.

His Excellency the Viceroy's address to the parade of the Civil Defence Services in Karachi.

Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer, but I would like once more to thank you for giving me this opportunity of meeting you this evening, and for the trouble you have taken to acquaint me with your views on these important matters, which are of such close concern to you and, I need hardly assure you, of not less concern to me.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS TO THE
PARADE OF THE CIVIL DEFENCE SERVICES IN
KARACHI.**

His Excellency the Viceroy's address to the parade of the Civil Defence Services in Karachi, on the 9th January 1942 :— 9th January 1942.

Officers, Men and Women of the Karachi Civil Defence Services,—I am glad to have had this opportunity of inspecting your parade today, and I am much encouraged by what I have seen. Your smartness and steadiness are a credit to you and to the famous city which you serve. I have been following with keen interest the details of your progress and development, and in the field of A.R.P. and Civic Guards you can justly be proud of the fact that you did what many others throughout the world must be sorry they left undone ; you saw the danger, you recognised the enemy, and you started to prepare for your defence in time. A year before the organisation of Civic Guards had been set up in India, you had your Emergency Guards in Karachi, and the beginnings of your A.R.P. Scheme go back to 1938. You have moreover persevered in your voluntary tasks with zeal and imagination, and your public spirit deserves not only the gratitude but the emulation of those many thousands of your fellow-citizens who do not stand in your ranks today.

In this vitally important matter of Civil Defence let no man feel that he may safely leave the job to be performed by his neighbour. Such complacency has been the

His Excellency the Viceroy's address to the parade of the Civil Defence Services in Karachi.

ruin of enough peoples already who took up arms to defend themselves too late. You, whom I am addressing, have not been complacent : you have given up your leisure and your comfort to make yourselves more fit for the duties to which you have so unselfishly devoted yourselves : you have realised that, in modern warfare, the battle line is of infinite depth : it runs through the home of each citizen, however far removed that may be from the sound of the guns : and it is just as important that it should "be stoutly manned in your own homes, and in your own hearts and minds, as in the deserts of Libya or the jungles of Malaya. Others, who have not yet joined your numbers, should realise this too. There is no better tonic for anxiety and doubt than a hard job of useful work such as you are doing ; there is no better way of resisting the insidious probes of the enemy into your courage and determination.

You men and women, of the Police, the Ambulance Services, the Boy Scouts, Civic Guards and A. R. P. Services, are doing a fine job of work. You are all proud, I know, of the magnificent feats of arms performed by the fighting forces of India overseas : yours is the best way of expressing that pride and of proving worthy of the heroism and the sacrifice with which they are keeping the war far from India's frontiers, and winning fresh lustre for her glorious annals. They look to us, those fighting men, to maintain the standard which they have set up. They expect every one of us to maintain it by carrying on, steadfast, confident, determined, at our daily task whatever it may be, and at whatever voluntary labour of defence or preparation we may undertake beside. I know you will see to it, if the test comes, that our soldiers will be proud of you.

Do not lose the momentum you have gained, citizens of Karachi. Do not let the routine of drill or of daily

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Sind Provincial Darbar at Hyderabad (Sind).

preparations to meet a danger that is still far off, blunt the edge of your alertness. Keep your imagination awake. Think of every untoward thing, however unlikely, however bad, which might conceivably happen here in this city, and see that you are ready to meet and counter it. You have begun well and strongly. You must go from strength to strength, without flagging or weariness or discouragement. There may be a long night yet to watch through ; but you have mounted guard, and you will perform your trust bravely and patiently until your relief comes with the dawn. And the dawn of victory is on its way as surely as tomorrow's sunrise.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
SIND PROVINCIAL DARBAR AT HYDERABAD
(SIND).

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Sind Provincial Darbar at Hyderabad (Sind), on Saturday, the 10th January 1942 :—

10th January 1942.

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It gives me particular pleasure that I am privileged to be the first Viceroy to have an opportunity of meeting, on a formal occasion, and speaking to the representatives of the Province of Sind. I am delighted to see how truly representative is the gathering that is assembled here today, consisting as it does of the Baluch Sardars, of members of the landed aristocracy of the province, of legislators and of administrators. I am not, in any case, one who thinks that formal gatherings such as this, even in war-time, have outlived their usefulness. A new province naturally looks forward to the future ; but the country has its roots firmly fixed in the past, and Sind itself inherits a wealth of tradition drawn from a long and honourable history ; it is,

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Sind Provincial Darbar at Hyderabad (Sind).

moreover, a country of great contrasts both physical and in the character and outlook of its people ; and for these reasons I am sure that you in Sind will agree with me that Darbars, such as this, at which the representatives of Government and the representatives of the people may meet with traditional ceremonial and solemnity, can still be occasions of great value and inspiration.

The last ten years have marked a great increase in the prosperity of Sind. There is no doubt that in that prosperity the principal factor has been the opening of the Lloyd Barrage and its canals. The completion of this monumental work of engineering—the dream of Irrigation Engineers for half a century—is imperishably linked with the name of that great administrator and devoted servant of the Empire and of this country, Lord Lloyd, whose loss we have so lately mourned, and for whose zeal and vision the Sindhi cultivator has so much to be grateful. The Barrage has, as we know, and as was always expected, brought new problems as well as solved old ones. It is perhaps not an unreasonable aspiration on the part of dwellers in those areas of the province which enjoy no benefit from the Barrage that they should be raised to a state of prosperity comparable with that of the Barrage tract, and I am glad to know that projects with that end in view are being actively examined by your Government.

The dispute between your province and your neighbour, the Punjab, over the distribution of the Indus waters is being investigated by a Commission composed of members of the highest standing and experience, in whose ability to produce a solution acceptable to all parties I have every confidence.

It was a matter of great regret to me to hear that your crops last year had been afflicted by two serious pests.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Sind Provincial Darbar at Hyderabad (Sind).

The energy with which the problem presented by the invasion of locusts was handled deserves every praise, for the greater part of your crops was saved, and valuable experience was gained, which will help to counter and eliminate that pest in future years. The threat from the boll-worm to your cotton crop still needs most careful investigation, and this I am glad to know has been undertaken with the help of a grant from the Indian Central Cotton Committee. I most earnestly commend this valuable field of research to the attention of all cotton farmers in this province for their wholehearted co-operation, as a means of averting a loss which may well amount throughout the province to crores of rupees.

I make no apology for referring to these agricultural matters first, though it is the war that is in the foreground of all our thoughts and endeavours at this time, since they are important matters for this Province, and the farmer in every part of India is playing as significant and as potentially valuable a part as the soldier and the industrialist in the prosecution of the war.

Day by day we hear of the fighting overseas in which the armed forces of India are giving a magnificent account of themselves, in attack and in defence. They are fighting on and beyond the outer perimeter of our fortress and their valour is keeping the war from India's gates. Their courage and skill will bring us victory, but there is a hard fight still to be fought ; and we in India, and particularly you in Sind, who stand in the first line of our inner defences, must be worthy of our soldiers, sailors and air-men overseas and must give them the strength and confidence that comes from knowing that behind them India's inner line of defence is secure and stoutly manned. The enemy today is still far from our frontiers—both on the

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Sind Provincial Darbar at Hyderabad (Sind).

East and on the West,—and please God he will ever remain so. But he is a cunning enemy who does not fight on the battle-field alone ; he seeks also, by spreading alarm and confusion behind the front, to undermine the steadfastness and courage of civilian populations. It is perhaps the utmost that he hopes to achieve in India ; and we must see to it that his hope is a barren one. We have seen what disorder he wrought by that means among the countries in Europe which he overran, and how disastrous for the defence of these countries was the impediment caused by refugees : we have seen too in the example of the island fortress of the United Kingdom how the threat and the terror can be withstood. The enemy must never gain such easy triumphs here. Each one of us behind the lines can best secure not only the ultimate triumph of our cause, but the present safety of our homes and our families by remaining steadfastly at our work and carrying on with calm confidence and determination at our daily tasks. If to these tasks each citizen were to add membership of one of the voluntary Civil Defence organisations, the Air Raid Precautions Services or the Civic Guards, then the defence of Sind, and India's defence, would be doubly sure. I cannot too strongly commend the invaluable contribution which these Services are now making to our war effort, and I hope that their ranks will soon be swelled by many thousands of new recruits, in fact by all public-spirited citizens, who for the love and honour of their country would lend their aid in establishing and increasing a state of disciplined preparedness.

I deeply appreciate the generosity with which gifts of money have been made to the Sind War Planes Fund and to His Excellency the Governor's Fund—though I cannot fail to observe that it is not always the most prosperous part of the province that have taken the lead in

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Sind Provincial Darbar at Hyderabad (Sind).

this generosity. I acknowledge with especial gratitude the results achieved during the recent Sind War Week. These sums, when added to the money which Your Excellency has sent me after your tour in Southern Sind, will suffice, I am glad to say, to cover the cost of mechanisation of a complete battalion of the Baluch Regiment, with which your province has such old and strong associations.

Before I end, let me turn for a moment to the important subject of law and order in this province. For territorial and geographical reasons, and to some extent also because of the commonly felt difficulty in police force organisation of anticipating the demands of a growing population and more complex administration, your Government must still rely to a great extent on the influence and example of large landholders for assistance in maintaining law and order. I am very glad to see so many here whose influence, I know, is a strong factor in the preservation of peace within the borders of their estates. I particularly appreciate the work, in this connection, of the great Baluch Sardars whose traditions of helpfulness to the administration have been well maintained. Your Government has, however, now taken up vigorously the question of the increase of the police force in the province and has shown by its recent actions that it will not tolerate lawlessness in high places. Sind is a country where respect for religious leaders and for the families of religious leaders is deeply engrained and it would be deplorable if these traditions should operate for the degradation instead of for the uplift of those who follow them.

I thank you once more for the cordial welcome which you have given me today. Before I take leave of you, it is fitting that I should pay a tribute to the wise leadership, the experience and the sound judgment of your

Message to Indians in Singapore.

Governor, His Excellency Sir Hugh Dow. I do not need to expatiate to you in Sind on his qualities, nor of the admirable assistance and support which he receives from Lady Dow ; nor need I tell you of the sympathetic and understanding guidance which you may expect from them both in the conduct of your daily affairs, the problems of administration and the welfare of your people, whether in war time or in peace. There are few among you who cannot claim them as old friends of yourselves or of your families. In returning to Sind they have returned as it were to their own country, and you are all aware of the devoted personal care with which your Governor and his Lady have the interests of Sind at heart.

And now, although my all-too-short visit to your province is not yet over, I bid you good-bye, confident that Sind will bear a worthy part in the supreme endeavour which demands all our energies today. The stakes are high—no less than the continued existence of civilisation as we know it—and I know that you, sharing the fixed determination of all members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and of our Allies, will do your utmost to hasten the day of destruction for our enemies, so that we may join once more in the works of peace and the establishment of a new era of goodwill, unity and prosperity here in India and throughout all nations of the world.

MESSAGE TO INDIANS IN SINGAPORE.

6th February
1942.

(Broadcast on 6th February 1942.)

To each one of you, sons and daughters of India, who are standing shoulder to shoulder with the brave defenders of Singapore I send this message. Just as you may be thinking today of some part of India which you hold dear, so you are at this moment held very clearly and dearly in the hearts and minds of your friends and loved ones

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to Council on Monday, the 9th of February, at which Generalissimo and Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek were present.

here in your motherland. Let that knowledge, and their love and pride, their confidence in you, strengthen you. The safety and honour of India are in your brave hands ; the safety of your homes, your villages, your families, and the honour of your proud and ancient land. You are the wardens of her Eastern gate.

The enemy is treacherous and ruthless, but we in India know that you, and those who are fighting and working by your side, will stand firm and will not give him passage, however long and rough the fight and the trial may be. The forces of the mighty Empire of which you are members, and of our great allies are gathering strength and will soon enable you to deal much deadlier blows than those which you now endure, until the enemy is utterly destroyed. Be strong, have faith and courage ; carry on your daily work with calm confidence, helping and encouraging one another. God be with you all.

SPEECH (FOR MEETING OF COUNCIL AT
MONDAY, 9TH OF FEBRUARY).

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to Council on Monday, the 9th of February, at which Generalissimo and Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek were present.

9th February
1942.

Your Excellency and Madame Ch'ang Kai-shek,—
In the name of His Majesty the King-Emperor, I bid you welcome to India.

My Colleagues of the Executive Council of the Government of India are gathered in this room to do honour to a great man, and to a great lady, and to mark a moment which, I am persuaded, will come to be known as a turning point of history. This is a meeting which sets a seal upon the comradeship-in-arms of two great nations—nations which between them number eight hundred million souls—one-third of the population of the world : it is a

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His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to Council on Monday, the 9th of February, at which Generalissimo and Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek were present.

meeting which bodes our enemies no good, and this they soon will learn to their cost.

I know that I speak for every one of my Colleagues when I say how deeply sensible we are of the honour that Your Excellency and Madame Chiang Kai-shek have done us in voyaging so far, across great mountains and rivers, through all the perils of the air in time of war, to strengthen the ancient links of friendship that stretch across the centuries between China and India.

Geography has set a barrier between our two countries, but civilisation, adventure, the pursuit of spiritual and intellectual freedom—all those elements that go to nourish the spirit of man—have overcome them. We can trace down the years, throughout the history of our nations, mutual influences, religious, cultural and political, that have made themselves felt from the earliest times to this present day ; a day when China, following the path prescribed by the revered Dr. Sun Yat Sen, founder and father of the Republic, and under the leadership of her National Government magnificently inspired by Your Excellency, is opposing so firm a front, so splendid a resistance, to the onset of the barbarians of Japan.

For a long time before we ourselves were privileged to stand as allies by your side in the line of battle we have had good cause to admire the bravery and staunchness that have characterised China's gallant and unrelenting resistance to the aggressors. China's heroism is the inspiration of us all. As one of your own statesmen has recently said, she is the veteran of Asia's fight for freedom. In the maintenance of that struggle we know well that you, our guests today, have carried the chief burden. Be assured that, to the utmost of our power, we will co-operate with China, even as she is mightily aiding us. I ask Your

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to Council on Monday, the 9th of February, at which Generalissimo and Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek were present.

Excellency to believe, that these are not mere words : my Colleagues and I affirm that India's heart is one with China and that we will strive powerfully to discharge our share of the burden in furtherance of our common cause, and so by our added effort, to bring nearer the day when China and the whole British Empire, with our great allies, will march together to the ultimate and inevitable victory.

For us it is a matter for pride and pleasure that, at a moment when the direction of China's war effort into even stronger channels must be claiming your daily attention, you have felt able to undertake this visit to our country. A year ago we were honoured by the presence of the Head of China's Examination Yuan, Dr. Tai Chi-Tao, and from him we learned that, vast though the land of China is, her sons and daughters are all one in their devoted allegiance to their country's cause, in the struggle in which she is at present engaged. We believe that in this shining example of China's unity there is enshrined a jewel of great price, a precious hope and inspiration for all men in a discordant world.

Your Excellency, I must not prolong unduly my words of welcome. You will have opportunity hereafter; I trust, for further meeting and profitable discussions with my Colleagues.

We are privileged now to do honour to the leaders of China's manhood and womanhood, happily in our midst today. India is proud and glad to receive you. From our hearts we hope that we shall be able to make you comfortable here after your arduous journey ; that you, and the other distinguished guests whom we are privileged to welcome with you, will derive pleasure and interest, and some rest, during your visit to our land. We believe that incalculable good will come of this meeting not only for

Speech at a Banquet at the Viceroy's House, on 10th February 1942.

India and China but for the whole world. On behalf of India we extend the warmest welcome that our hands and hearts can give to Your Excellency, to Madame, and to all who have accompanied you.

SPEECH AT A BANQUET AT THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
ON 10TH FEBRUARY 1942.

10th Feb-
ruary 1942.

Speech at a Banquet at the Viceroy's House, on 10th February 1942.

*Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,—*A most wise philosopher—none other than Confucius—has asked “Is it not delightful to have men of kindred spirit come to one from afar?”

None of the posterity for whom he wrote could be more deeply conscious of the truth of that sentiment than we who, on this happy occasion, are privileged to welcome among us the two great leaders of the Chinese nation, and their distinguished companions.

The story of China during the last decades cannot be read apart from the names of our guests of honour. They have woven themselves into the heroic pattern of fortitude, determination and united endeavour, which China today holds up as it were a banner to the civilised world.

I do not need to remind you of what is already history. Throughout nearly five bitter and strenuous years the Generalissimo and his consort have concentrated and symbolised in their persons the glorious resistance of free China to the onslaughts of the Japanese aggressor. In a dark hour for the British Empire the Prime Minister of Great Britain. Mr. Winston Churchill, once declared that we would fight on “if necessary for years, and if

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necessary alone". China has honourable cause to know the meaning of those words. Standing alone against a powerful and well-prepared enemy, she has kept alight the torch of freedom, and in her heroic struggle our guests of honour have throughout borne the heaviest burden.

That burden is scarcely lighter now, although, thank God, neither they nor we stand alone ; for today as allies, with strength and resources joined, we face the future with renewed determination and confidence. A few weeks ago His Excellency the Generalissimo accepted the Supreme Command over all the Forces of the Allied Nations operating in Chinese theatre of war, which will include Indo-China and Thailand. We are proud indeed that one of the first acts of the Marshal and his wife after the assumption of that great command has been to visit our land of India. Their gracious and courageous gesture sweeps aside the barriers which nature has erected, and causes us to see, perhaps more clearly than before, how near are China and India to each other, and how many of the priceless gifts of civilisation they have in common. In both, the ideals of culture and of kindness prevail : in both the lamp of freedom has been lit : and we in India may well learn from China what can be done by valiant and selfless men and women to survive and overcome the worst shocks of the aggressor and to work together for a common and unselfish end.

Her Excellency Madame Chiang Kai-shek, we know, has been an inspiration not only to the cause of China itself but to the greater world, and most certainly to India. We have heard of her tireless labours in the cause of war relief and in finding homes for refugee children and for the orphans of gallant soldiers killed in the struggle. We know too that she has been frequently exposed to the dangers of war and has accompanied her husband on his

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campaigns. It is our good fortune that she accompanies him, too, on his errands of friendship, and we are proud to have her with us tonight.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have heard how at this time, when the enemy is threatening the eastern bastion of our fortress, the soldiers of China have come, without hesitation and without stint, to stand by the side of ours on the Burma front. That is the act of a great Ally, and of a brother too. These are the men—and here is their leader—among whose battle honours are inscribed the names of Changsha and Taierchwang. We shall fight this war, therefore, confident and proud in the knowledge that we shall be with China through rough and smooth, through fair weather and foul until the victorious end. It shall be with us as with John Bunyan's pilgrim :

Whoso beset him round
With dismal stories
Do but themselves confound
His strength the more is
There's no discouragement
Shall make him once relent
His first avowed intent
To be a pilgrim.

With God's help our pilgrimage, side by side with China and our other mighty Allies, shall not end until the enemy is utterly destroyed, in Asia, in Europe, on the high seas ; until our banners of victory float at last on a free air, purged of tyranny and oppression. There could be no happier augury of that dawn of victory towards which we now march together than the presence with us tonight of the two leaders of China's fight for freedom.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I propose the health of Their Excellencies Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE
OPENING CEREMONY OF THE NEW FRUIT AND
VEGETABLE MARKET, DELHI, ON TUESDAY, THE
17TH FEBRUARY 1942.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the opening ceremony of the New Fruit and Vegetable Market, Delhi, on Tuesday, the 17th February 1942 :—

17th Feb.
ruary 1942.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The tale which you have unfolded, Sir, of what, in the face of difficulties not lessened by the war, the Delhi Improvement Trust has succeeded in accomplishing in less than five years and the ambitious programme which you have in hand, is, to my mind, and I believe to all who have heard it this afternoon, a most encouraging one. The work of your Trust (of the results of which this fine new Market which I am about to open is only one example) is going steadily forward in spite of all the other urgent demands of the war on our energies and our resources. It is, to that extent, a measure of our confidence in the outcome of the present struggle. I do not believe that it is work which can or should be set on one side for the duration of the war, for it represents in a limited, though important, field progress towards the establishment of those decent conditions of living and the free development of our institutions and resources for the benefit of communities and individuals alike, which is one of the precious objects for which we are fighting.

You have referred, Sir, to my personal interest in the work of the Delhi Improvement Trust. It is natural that we who live in Delhi should take a proprietary interest and a pride in the work which improves the surroundings of our home, but I venture to claim that it is no selfish pride or interest only. Those who dwell in the capital of India have a responsibility to their fellow-citizens, and are holding something in trust for the whole of India, too. We inhabit not only a city but a place which is symbolical

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of the Chamber of Princes.*

soldier too. Stand, steady ; encourage the brave ; strengthen the faint-hearted ; rebuke the babbler and root out the hidden traitor. Make good the defence of the country today ; go forward to victory tomorrow ; for without victory there is no hope for the survival of free institutions, culture, or kindness, in the world. We are members of a worthy company, China, Russia, America, Britain, and a score of others ; let each one of us in India be worthy of our own country and of our comrades, for thus shall we make our victory swift and sure. I confide in your courage.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES. 16th March
1942.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Address at the Opening Ceremony of the Chamber of Princes on 16th March 1942 :—

Your Highnesses,—It is my privilege today to preside, for the fifth time during my tenure of office, over the Chamber of Princes, and it is with real pleasure that I see so goodly a gathering of Your Highnesses assembled here today. My satisfaction is the greater because the time itself demands that those in authority in this country should meet and take counsel for the common good. A good attendance is also appropriate to the celebration, as it were, of the Chamber's coming of age. It is just over 21 years since this Chamber was inaugurated here in Delhi by His late Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, the close of whose long career of devoted public service is so fresh in our recollection. I notice that in the course of our proceedings Your Highnesses propose to pay what I know will

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be something more than a formal tribute to his memory. For myself I will say only this. Few of us who are here today can have been present at that inauguration ceremony, but we shall all do well to bear in mind the eloquent words in which His Royal Highness then described the purpose of this Chamber and the lofty ideals which he set before it. One passage in that historic speech has struck me as peculiarly relevant to the circumstances in which we find ourselves today. His Royal Highness spoke of the King-Emperor's confidence that in good times or evil the fidelity and unswerving support of the Indian Princes could always be counted upon, and recalled how "when most was needed, most was given". I am very sure that in the closing months of his long life His Royal Highness must have derived much comfort from the manner in which it has been demonstrated by the present generation of Princes that those words are as true now as they were 21 years ago.

In India, too, we have the loss of old friends and colleagues to mourn. By the death of His late Highness of Cutch the Princely Order has lost a distinguished and venerated member, a Ruler endowed with singular charm of personality, who so long ago as 1921 had the distinction of representing India at the Imperial Council in London, as well as at the Assembly of the League of Nations. We mourn also the passing of Their Highnesses of Cochin, Manipur, Charkhari and Dhrangadhra, to whose bereaved families and States this Chamber will no doubt offer its condolences, as well as a message of welcome to those upon whom their great responsibilities will now devolve. And in this category of new Rulers to whom we look to carry on the high traditions of their ancestors I would include the young Maharajas of Kolhapur and Bijawar to whom

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His Majesty's recognition has been accorded since the last meeting of this Chamber.

There is however one sphere in which, for the time being at least, the old order will not change nor give place to new. I refer to the circumstances, which to the best of my belief are unprecedented, in which Their Highnesses the Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor of the Chamber are to continue in their high offices. In the ordinary course of events elections would by now have taken place and the results would have been announced during our present session. A proposal was however made by certain members of the Standing Committee in accordance with a provision to that effect which had been wisely included in the Chamber's Constitution, that the terms of office of the Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor should be extended. The views of all members of the Standing Committee were then, as required by the Regulations, formally invited, with the result that, the requisite proportion having signified their consent, Their Highnesses of Nawanagar and Bikaner were asked to continue in office for a second term.

We have an English proverb which tells us that it is unwise to change horses in midstream. At this time we in India are crossing a very turbulent stream and I do indeed feel that it would be regrettable, from the point of view of this Chamber and of the States in general, if we lost the services of these two Princes to whom, if I may speak for Your Highnesses as well as for myself, we all owe so great a debt of gratitude. I do not need to tell you about the treasurehouse of wisdom and experience which His Highness of Bikaner has acquired in the course of his long and most distinguished career. As for His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib I cannot praise too highly the cheerful alacrity with which he has responded to our

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incessant demands upon his time and patience. In fact the necessity for his advice and support at headquarters has recurred so frequently that he must have come to look upon Delhi and Simla as a kind of second home. I think therefore that I shall be rightly interpreting the sense of opinion in this Chamber by conveying to both Their Highnesses an expression of our gratitude that, in deference to the wishes of their Brother Princes, they have consented to continue in the performance of their duties as Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor.

I shall refer later to the war situation and to the part played by the Princes in that connection. But in these critical times it behoves us to remember factors which, though not directly connected with the present grave trend of events, are nevertheless of immense importance from the point of view of the Indian States. I refer particularly to the urgent need for the States to adjust themselves to the rapidly changing currents of world opinion, and to leave undone nothing which will help to achieve not only their own healthy development, but also, if I may strike a graver note, their survival as valued and respected elements in the new Indian polity which has yet to be evolved. I shall therefore speak as briefly as possible regarding three matters which, during the past year, have continued to engage the earnest attention of myself and my Advisers—amongst whom I would include your distinguished Chancellor.

First, I regard it as my duty to repeat in as few words as possible what I have said in previous addresses to this Chamber regarding the absolute necessity, so far as the smaller States are concerned, for some form of co-operative measures to secure a standard of administrative efficiency which is beyond their individual resources. In my last

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address I remarked that steps to this end had already been taken in many parts of India with visible, though not as yet spectacular, results. The last year has seen further and encouraging progress, but I regret to observe that the progress has been mainly apparent in one area only.

Elsewhere there are schemes to this end under consideration ; but there are other large areas, comprising many States which in my judgment can certainly not afford to stand aloof in this matter, where no sign of this vital principle of co-operation has yet begun to emerge. It is my duty therefore to urge all concerned to press forward in this matter, and to realise that when I urged upon this Chamber the necessity for some form of pooling of sovereignty I did not do so without full appreciation of the sacrifices involved, nor yet of the gravity of the eventual consequences which my advice was designed to avert.

Secondly, I should let Your Highnesses know that I have had under consideration a scheme designed for the safeguarding, during the initial years of a young Ruler's responsibilities, of standards achieved under periods of minority administration. A definite policy still remains to be formulated ; but I have reached the preliminary conclusion that the object in view can best be achieved by a formal constitution under which all State business would be transacted in a Council of Ministers over which the Ruler would normally preside and whose recommendations he would not disregard or override without good reason. So great are the powers and responsibilities to which Rulers succeed at an early age, and so numerous the pitfalls which beset their footsteps, that no one who has the best interests of the States at heart could, in my opinion, take exception to safeguards of this nature, designed as they

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are mainly for the purpose of inculcating into young Princes the habit of orderly and methodical disposal of business.

Thirdly, and lastly, I should like to say that I was delighted to learn recently that, in spite of all other pre-occupations, the vexed question of Civil Lists and Privy Purses has again been receiving the active attention of Your Highnesses. This problem, of deciding what proportion of a State's revenue can appropriately be earmarked for the use of the Ruler and his family, and what precisely are the items which should legitimately come within the scope of Privy Purse expenditure, is one of the greatest complexity and delicacy. The general principle that such distinctions ought to be made was unanimously accepted at the session of this Chamber in 1928 after a full debate on a Resolution very eloquently moved by His Highness of Bikaner. Experience has perhaps since shown how difficult is the task of translating principle into practice. Nevertheless it ought to be tackled with courage and resolution. I applaud, therefore, the foresight and statesmanship of those among Your Highnesses who are making such determined efforts in that direction. It would indeed be a notable achievement if those efforts were to lead to the formulation of some systematic plan likely to commend itself to the Rulers as a body and such as I or my successor could confidently recommend for acceptance by this Chamber, and thereafter by all individual States. I trust, therefore, that the endeavour will be energetically pursued and that, in order that we may not be at cross purposes in so vital a matter, the Chancellor and Their Highnesses of the Standing Committee will not hesitate to take my Political Adviser into their confidence before the final stage of their deliberations is reached.

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I address myself now to the sterner topic of the war and all that it means to us. When I last addressed Your Highnesses, it was my privilege to acknowledge the inestimable value of the co-operation and generous support of the Indian States to the war effort of India as a whole. The last twelve months have seen the war reach the threshold of India and have added greatly to the demands for every kind of service and sacrifice made upon us all. The response of the States to these demands, which must become more insistent as the tempo of the struggle quickens, continues to be worthy of their great traditions ; their contribution covers every field of India's war effort and embraces every form of service. Several of Your Highnesses have visited our Indian troops in different theatres of the war,—visits which have been as highly appreciated by our officers and men as, I am sure, they were instructive and encouraging to Your Highnesses. It is also a matter for special pride that the Princely Order includes some who have served, are serving, or are preparing to serve, as combatants with His Majesty's Forces in the field. There is one particular case which I think Your Highnesses would wish me to mention, namely, that of the eldest son and Heir of a member of this Chamber, who met an untimely death in the course of his duties as an officer of the Indian Air Force. To His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim, I would like to offer on behalf of this Chamber as well as from myself a sincere expression of our deepest sympathy.

Apart from the personal service of Rulers and members of their families, the man-power contribution of the States, whether to the Indian Army or their own State Forces, has been of the highest value ; in money their support continues to be generous and unstinted ; in material, be it aircraft, house accommodation, rolling stock, launches, the produce of their forests, mines and factories,

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or the provision of comforts for the troops, they have done everything in their power to meet, and indeed to anticipate, all of the many calls made on them. Whatever difficulties and dangers lie ahead, I am confident that the great measure of support which the Indian States have given so freely and so spontaneously will be maintained and even augmented.

I referred in my last address to Your Highnesses to the efforts made to keep the Indian States in close touch with current events of importance, and expressed the hope that the steps taken to ensure the closest co-operation between the States and British India would be of mutual benefit. Since then the scope of the measures taken, to achieve maximum co-ordination has steadily expanded. The most signal instance of this united front has been the participation of representative Princes in the deliberations of the National Defence Council, and I welcome this opportunity to express my deep appreciation of the readiness of those Rulers, in spite of their many pressing pre-occupations at this time, to make long journeys to Delhi or Simla in order to lend the prestige of their presence and the weight of their experience to this most important Council of War. I sincerely trust that I may be able to count upon the continuation, at its future meetings, of this personal support, the need and the value of which will now be even greater than before.

I believe too that the representation which the States now enjoy on the Central Price Control Conference and the Provincial Price, Supply and Transport Boards, as well as on the other organisations which I mentioned last year, and the informal discussions which some of Your Highnesses have had, and are about to have, with the Supply, Commerce and Civil Defence Members of my Council, will be

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of the greatest advantage not only to the States but to the whole of India. To associate the States even more closely with the Central Government, and to place readily and promptly at their disposal the fullest and most up-to-date information on economic, Civil Defence and other matters, direct correspondence between certain Departments of the Government of India and the larger States has been authorised, and an officer has been added to the staff of the Civil Defence Department to deal solely with Civil Defence problems affecting the States. I trust that Your Highnesses will not fail to seek the advice of that Department on the measures which should be taken in your States to provide adequate protection for your subjects against the consequences of attacks from the air. While in some parts of the country that danger may still appear remote, in others it is unquestionably a grim and imminent possibility which must be faced, and the need for making timely and adequate preparations cannot be over-emphasised. I earnestly desire, therefore, to impress upon Your Highnesses the heavy responsibility which each State must shoulder and discharge in this matter which so closely affects the safety of its people.

I am aware that some of Your Highnesses have expressed some disappointment at the shortage of modern arms and equipment available for supply to Indian States Forces training units. Steps have been taken to make good this deficiency so far as the situation permits, but Your Highnesses will agree with me that it must be left to General Headquarters to decide how best such supplies of arms and equipment as are available can be utilised. Some of Your Highnesses have, from time to time, expressed a desire that Indian States Forces units should be given a more active rôle than had in their judgment been allotted to them. The recent fighting in Malaya,

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culminating in the fall of Singapore and the loss of many of our valuable troops, including a number of units of the Indian States Forces, will, I think, have convinced Your Highnesses that a regiment employed in such a rôle as guarding an aerodrome is rendering vitally important service, and may at any moment find itself at grips with the enemy. I trust, therefore, that Your Highnesses will appreciate that all of your units serving with His Majesty's Forces, whatever rôle be allotted to them, are contributing with equal value to the common object. When I addressed you in this Chamber last year, I said, in referring to the different conditions of service obtaining in the Indian States Forces and the Indian Army, that "in uniformity lies simplicity and efficiency". Since then several proposals of importance to that end have been made to States maintaining Indian States Forces and have been accepted, although in certain cases with some reluctance and delay. I fully realise that proposals designed to eliminate such differences as still exist between the conditions of service in the Indian States Forces and the Indian Army may not always be welcome, but I wish to assure Your Highnesses that they are made solely with a view to increasing the efficiency of the Indian States Forces and are intended to have effect only for the duration of the war, after which the whole scheme under which those Forces are embodied will come under review in the light of the experience gained. Meanwhile, in the present grave emergency I am confident that Your Highnesses will not hesitate to agree temporarily to forego, in the common interest, prerogatives and privileges, however greatly they may be valued, should they in any way impede India's war effort. I desire, in this connection, to mention particularly the commendable action of certain States in the Eastern States Agency in voluntarily delegating

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authority to the Resident to make decisions on their behalf in matters affecting the military situation, provided that such decisions are communicated to them immediately afterwards.

The flower of India's manhood is to be found today in the Indian Army and the Indian States Forces, but I need not remind Your Highnesses that a constant stream of reinforcements must be maintained and that the need for augmenting our present forces is insistent. Above all, young men of the best type are required to come forward and be trained to lead our troops ; modern war demands a high degree of training and initiative from military leaders, and I hope that Your Highnesses will do everything in your power to ensure that institutions such as the Pre-Cadet School at Indore, which have been set up to enlarge the supply of potential officers, are fully supported. I trust also that Your Highnesses will not allow the need to maintain a reasonable margin of safety in regard to your local arrangements for internal security unduly to hamper the making of the utmost possible contribution to the forces which India requires to repel external aggression ; regard to local arrangements for internal security is natural and prudent, but in the present emergency the interests and safety of India as a whole demand that every able-bodied man and every unit that is not essentially required for the maintenance of internal tranquillity should be made available to resist and attack and finally to defeat the common enemy.

That final victory is only a matter of time would emphasise that the speed and success with which that goal will be attained, and in fact the very safety of India, her dignity and her standing in the eyes of the world, will in no small measure depend upon the attitude of her people

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to the threat of aggression. There has been peace in this land for so long a period that we had perhaps become too prone to believe that nothing could disturb it, too sceptical of the need for making sacrifices for its preservation. That peace is now rudely threatened, and it behoves us all, and not least Your Highnesses, who are the hereditary wardens of India's martial traditions, to show that India has the strength and determination to face and defeat the common enemy. With that in view I earnestly invite the support and co-operation of Your Highnesses in the National War Front. Your Highnesses will have read my message. The objects of the National War Front—which I believe will attract innumerable adherents throughout the length and breadth of India—are to maintain public morale, to eradicate all elements tending to undermine it ; and in particular to counteract fifth-column activities of all kinds, including all talk, thought, writings and rumours likely to encourage a defeatist outlook ; to inculcate faith, courage and endurance ; and to consolidate the national will to offer united resistance to Nazism and Fascism in every shape or form, whether within or without the country, until their menace is finally overthrown. I trust that the National War Front will derive its strength and vitality from the patriotism of private citizens and public-spirited leaders. It will be their task not only to resist the insidious forces of evil but to assume the initiative and to inculcate the principle that no form of defence is more effective than attack.

The indomitable Prime Minister of Great Britain has asked :—" what sort of people do our enemies think we are ? " Our enemies shall learn, if they have not learnt already to their cost, what kind of men this land of India breeds. India has vast material resources. She has mighty Allies. She has a great soldier for her Commander-in-Chief. She has the loyalty and bravery of her

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech before adjourning the Chamber of Princes.

sons who are heirs to the superb traditions of the Indian Army and who are already writing the first chapters of a glorious record for the Royal Indian Navy and the Indian Air Force. Within the last few days India has received a message of new hope for all who look to see her take her rightful place among the free nations of the world. There is now coming to us across the world a Minister who, in Mr. Churchill's words, carries the full confidence of His Majesty's Government and will strive in their name to secure the necessary measure of assent to the conclusions on which they are agreed. In Sir Stafford Cripps India has a trusted friend on whose fairness she can rely, a statesman who has already carried out with conspicuous success one important mission in a distant land, and who is animated with a burning zeal for the defeat and final extinction of the aggressors and all they stand for. Your Highnesses can count on his readiness to give the fullest considerations to the views which you will doubtless lay before him, and I know that I can rely on you to give him a warm welcome and your whole-hearted co-operation in the discharge of his great responsibilities. For you know full well that on you, the representatives of Princely India, lies, as on us all, an obligation to secure for India a triumphant and happy issue out of this, her testing time of trial and danger.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH CONCLUDING THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech concluding the proceedings of the Chamber of Princes on Tuesday, the 17th March 1942 :—

17th March
1942.

Your Highnesses,—I am much obliged to His Highness the Chancellor for what he has said and I may assure

*His Excellency the Viceroy's speech concluding the proceedings
of the Chamber of Princes.*

that I shall give careful consideration to the observations which have fallen from him. We have had a very useful session and I shall look forward, if both are spared to do so, for another year with His Highness the Chancellor. We worked together with great ease, if I may say so, and it has always been a pleasure to me to call His Highness in consultation whenever that was required. As I said in my earlier Address, I found him always most ready to oblige. I am very grateful to all Your Highnesses for the support which you have given to the Chair, and I should like once again to express to Your Highnesses my deep sense of appreciation of the kindness which Your Highnesses in this Chamber has always afforded to me. During our deliberations I have heard with deep satisfaction those assurances of loyalty and devotion to the Throne and Person of the King-Emperor, to which assurances all Your Highnesses have adhered. I have been heartened too by hearing from the lips of so many of those Princes who have spoken, an affirmation of the unshakable determination of the Princely Order to spare no effort to prosecute the War to a successful and victorious conclusion at the earliest possible moment. That is the spirit in which a great emergency should be faced. Let us not regret that our lot should be cast in these times of stress and danger. Rather let us declare that these are days in which a man should think himself fortunate to live, days for courage, days of high resolution and endeavour and days too of great achievements.

**SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY TO THE
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ST. JOHN
AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION AND THE INDIAN RED
CROSS SOCIETY.**

Speech by His Excellency the Viceroy to the Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society on Monday, the 23rd March, 1942 :—

23rd March
1942.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It gives me great pleasure to welcome you all once more to this annual general meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association, the Red Cross Society and the Central Joint War Committee.

During the last six years I have watched with close personal interest the development of your organisations. The great work to which you have set your hand and all that you have achieved, especially during the last 2½ years of war, make me proud to be your President. I am particularly glad to think that the extension of my office, to which such kind reference has been made, will give me an opportunity of prolonging my close association with you for another year.

I have listened with great interest to the accounts given by your Chairmen of another strenuous and successful year's work, and I would like to congratulate all those officers and members, of both associations, who have contributed to the results which your Chairmen have disclosed.

Sir Cameron Badenoch has described a year of progress and activity by the St. John Ambulance Organisation and Brigade. The advantages of the training given by the Association are now widely recognised, and I am glad to observe that the number of people trained in first-aid and home nursing this year is a record.

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I hope that the reduction in the number of A. R. P. certificates may have been due to the thoroughness with which members have been trained in previous years, and not to indifference. From the skill and discipline which an A. R. P. training imparts comes that self-confidence, which breeds steadiness in the face of danger in the trained man himself, and infects with courage all those around him. I count it therefore of the greatest importance that you should redouble your efforts to enrol more, and yet more, new members in your A. R. P. organisations.

In various provinces during the past year I have been privileged to see members of the St. John Ambulance Brigade on parade, and on every occasion I was much impressed by their bearing and the quality of their work. I would like especially to mention the useful work of the Transport Units at the various Ports, and the Auxiliary Nursing Service which has played such an important part in the expansion of the military nursing services.

It was a fine spirit too, and in the best tradition of the fellowship of St. John, which inspired the Medical Unit which recently volunteered to go from Madras to the relief of air-raid victims in Rangoon.

In these times the war and all the problems which flow from it naturally have the first call on our energies and resources. It is all the more to the credit of the Indian Red Cross Society that it has not been prevented from going steadily forward with its peace-time activities, including maternity and child welfare work. Among its many other activities it is worthy of note that the Society was able to send 10,000 doses of plague vaccine to China, and medical stores of various kinds to Russia. These are

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striking examples of the manner in which the Society has been able to help our Allies, and we may be sure that this is only a beginning.

We have all listened with special interest to Sir Bertrand Moberly's account of the work of the Joint War Organisation. When I spoke to you last year I said that difficulties might be expected. During the year your Committee has had to face new difficulties and unexpected demands which greatly strained their resources. Nevertheless, the record of the year's work is one of achievement, for which General Moberly and those associated with him deserve all credit.

Our thanks are particularly due to Colonel Sir Richard Needham, the Red Cross Commissioner in the Middle East, who has had a most difficult task in the areas for which he is responsible and who has done it well. We are grateful, too, to Lady Ward for her ready and generous help at a critical time in Iraq.

Major-General Macrae, who, as the Red Cross Commissioner in Malaya, had, with his staff, worked hard to build up an efficient organisation, is a very real loss. To him and to his helpers, you will, I know, wish to convey a special message of gratitude and sympathy.

There are now over 1,000 work parties in India, and I would like to pay my tribute to the splendid voluntary work which they are doing. But it is not enough. Twice as many work parties and four times the present output in bandages, surgical dressings, hospital clothing and ward accessories will scarcely be enough if we are to be prepared to meet every call which may be made upon us. I look to

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Speech by His Excellency the Viceroy to the Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society.

you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to see that if the call should come, our effort shall not fall short.

I sometimes feel that India, and the world outside, should be told more of what the Joint War Organisation is doing, and what it intends to do, and what its requirements are. Meetings such as this attract some publicity, of course ; but this only happens once a year. I hope that those among you who are interested in publicity will bear in mind what I have said, and will do your utmost, all the time, to keep the work of the Joint Committee and of the two organisations before the public eye, to explain and interpret it to the public, and thus to enlist their whole-hearted appreciation and support.

The great expansion of work and responsibility which has marked the past year has thrown a heavy burden on the finances of the Joint War Organisation, and has, I know, been a source of anxiety to the Honorary Treasurers. Contributions from my War Purposes Fund have met the cost of sending weekly parcels to the 2,000 Indian prisoners of war in Germany ; it has assisted, too, in meeting the cost of despatch of parcels to Geneva, for which admirable work is being done by voluntary workers in Bombay. But during 1942 commitments in every direction will undoubtedly be vastly increased owing, principally, to the large number of our soldiers captured in Malaya, as well as civilians interned there, for whom provision will have to be made. We shall, of course, have to enlist the help of Government, but voluntary effort and private generosity will still have to be the means of conveying that extra food and clothing which does so much to make the life of a prisoner of war more endurable. I have had a generous response from the Governors of Provinces whom I asked to guarantee from their War Funds

His Excellency the Viceroy's Message to the "Food Drive" Conference.

a regular income for the Red Cross Organisation ; my own War Purposes Fund, too, is always ready to help, and your Committees need never feel that they must curtail their beneficent activities owing to lack of funds ; but when the full extent of our commitments is apparent, I may have to make a further appeal to the people of this country for large sums of money. I have no doubt that their response will be at least as generous as it has been in the past, for that money will be spent on the relief and succour of men of this country whose deeds have already made history in many distant lands.

Whatever this year may have in store for us,—and the test will not be a light one—I feel that we have established organisations which, inspired by unselfishness, imagination and generosity, which are the three springs from which all humanitarian enterprise flows, will answer speedily and effectively every call that may be made upon them. I am confident that the Red Cross and the St. John Ambulance Association in India will be true to their fine and ancient traditions and will not be found wanting in the critical times which lie ahead of us.

In that firm belief and trust, I thank you all for what you have done and I wish you every success in your future endeavours.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S MESSAGE TO THE
"FOOD DRIVE" CONFERENCE.**

His Excellency the Viceroy's Message to the "Food Drive" Conference on Monday, the 6th April 1942 :—

6th April
1942

I am grateful to all the representatives of Provinces and States, who, by coming to Delhi at short notice, and in some cases, I fear, not without personal inconvenience, have made it possible to convene this important Conference.

The problems before you are urgent, and their solution will be a vital contribution to this country's war effort.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Broadcast from New Delhi, Regarding the National War Front.

India, fortunately, has so far escaped the ravages of war as other lands have known them, and we have not, so far, had to resort to rationing or curtailing those essential food supplies which countries elsewhere have had to forego. But today the war is at our gates, and if we are to maintain our position in this respect, it is imperative that we should aim not only at self-sufficiency, national as well as regional, in foodstuffs and animal fodder, but also at increased production all round, to meet our growing commitments. The best results can only be achieved by planning on an all-India basis.

The task before you, therefore, is no light one ; but I am sure that you will undertake it with vigour and despatch, and with a full appreciation of its urgency. I hope that ready co-operation will be forthcoming from Provinces and States to implement your recommendations. •

I am sure too that the planned agricultural policy which your deliberations should produce will be not only an important contribution to India's war effort, but will also prove of lasting benefit to her when victory has brought us peace once more. India is, and for a long time yet, is likely to be mainly an agricultural country, and her prosperity will greatly depend on the care and forethought which she devotes to her major industry.

I wish you all success in your endeavours.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S BROADCAST FROM
NEW DELHI, REGARDING THE NATIONAL WAR
FRONT.**

7th May
1942.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Broadcast from New Delhi, regarding the National War Front, on Thursday, the 7th May 1942 :—

Early in March, just after Rangoon had fallen, I sent you a message. The war had arrived at India's gates and

His Excellency the Viceroy's Broadcast from New Delhi, regarding the National War Front.

had suddenly become the affair of each one of us, not as spectators but as combatants in our several fields. I invited you to close the ranks and stand steady behind the fighting men in a national war front against the aggressor. Since then much has happened ; India's own soil has been attacked and our capacity to " take it ", as others have taken it, has been tried. Ceylon has been attacked and a Japanese fleet has ranged the Bay of Bengal, sinking our ships and drowning our seamen. True, it has withdrawn for the moment. Depend upon it, it will come back. In Burma the Japanese are in Lashio and Mandalay. But, on the whole, we may consider ourselves lucky in that we have had a long respite before the real attack begins. For that we have mainly to thank General Alexander and the Indian, British and Chinese forces who, outnumbered and cut off from reinforcements of men and supplies, have by an epic resistance won us what we so greatly needed, time. General Wavell, in his inspiring talk a fortnight ago, told you what good use was being made of this breathing space. The military and air strength of India is growing daily. Under a Commander in whom we all have implicit confidence, our armed forces are going to give a good account of themselves against any attack that our enemy is able to launch.

What of the rest of us, the unarmed forces of the country ? Are we going to give a good account of ourselves ? Not, I suggest, unless we stand shoulder to shoulder and work actively for the common cause. I have often heard it said lately. " We are unarmed ; what can we do ? Let Government put arms in our hands and we will spring to the defence of India like one man ". Well, here is my answer to that. Were the people of Great Britain armed in June 1940 ? Were the people of Russia armed in June 1941 ? During the long agony of China

His Excellency the Viceroy's Broadcast from New Delhi, regarding the National War Front.

have ordinary men had arms in their hands ? The answer is, " No ". The mass of the people have never carried arms in any country or in any modern campaign.

The activities of irregular bands operating behind an enemy's advancing line can be of very great value provided they are fully trained for this most exacting task. This phase of warfare is being developed and will be more fully developed as arms become available. Meanwhile the position is that the expansion of the regular army proceeds apace, and we put no limit on it. We require therefore for fully trained soldiers all the modern arms that are available.

What then can we, the unarmed forces of the country, do ? Let me remind you of what General Wavell has said : that of the elements which contribute to success in modern war, the spirit of the people is the most important. That is our responsibility, yours and mine, and that is why I invite you again to join together in building a national war front. I do not care whether we spell this with capital letters ; I do not care, in fact, what we call it. We all know what it means, a united determination, transcending all racial, religious and political differences, to stand up and stand together to defend the things we have and hope to have and to make sure that they shall never be so threatened again.

I used the word " build ", for India's war front will not come into being just by wishing or talking, but only by doing. Two things—and two things only—are needed, the will to unite and the will to act. I see no difficulty in finding unity : there is nothing in our objects to which any one need hesitate to subscribe, unless, indeed, he sympathises with the way of life which our enemies would impose on the world—and to such I make no appeal.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Broadcast from New Delhi, regarding the National War Front.

These are the objects which those who join us will adopt as their own :—

To do everything possible to help and maintain public morale, that is to say, to strengthen the war resistance of the people ; to eradicate all elements tending to undermine it, and in particular to counteract fifth column activities of all kinds, including all talk, thought, writings and rumours likely to produce a defeatist mentality ; to inculcate faith, courage and endurance, and to consolidate the national will to offer united resistance to Nazism and Fascism in every shape or form, whether within or without the country, until their menace is finally overthrown.

I say with confidence that every man and woman in this country can subscribe to a creed such as this, without sacrificing a single principle or abandoning a single aim.

Many people ask the question : “ What can I do ? ”, not, I know, as an excuse for doing nothing, but in genuine uncertainty. Let them reflect that in a war like this there is hardly anything which a man does or omits to do which does not help or hinder victory. To those for whom a place in the armed forces is waiting, I say “ Fill it quickly ”. For the rest of us there are opportunities galore ; the Civil Defence Forces are crying out for wardens, fire-watchers, doctors, nurses, ambulance men, helpers of all kind. Civic or Home Guards and Pioneers need men. Women are wanted in hospitals, in offices and to run canteens for troops. There are refugees to be helped. Let us look into our daily lives : are we wasting money, food, clothes, electricity, petrol, coal ? If we are, we are delaying victory. Do we travel when we need not do so taking up space badly required for troops and munitions

His Excellency the Viceroy's Broadcast from New Delhi, regarding the National War Front.

of war ? Are we farmers ? Then can we not grow more food grains ? Are we factory hands ? Then are we working our utmost ? Whoever we are, rich men, poor men, officers, clerks, businessmen, labourers, housewives, servants, be sure there is something which we can do which will hasten the day of victory. A determination cheerfully to do our best in fulfilment of the ordinary hum-drum tasks and duties of our daily lives, and to continue in this despite any attempt by the enemy or his agents to disturb or frighten us, is for many of us the greatest contribution that we can make towards winning the war. Do not forget what even one day added on to the war means in terms of human suffering and material loss.

We must achieve unity and action and we must combine them in a spirit of attack. Passive defence or masterly withdrawals, forced on us as they are at times, do not win wars. Let us attack our work, attack the rumour-monger, attack the defeatist. We must make our front an attacking front, and think always in terms of the offensive.

There is no one in India who does not know that, if all that we value is to survive, if hope is not to die, this war *must* be won ; every thinking man knows that, with the resources which the United Nations have, it *can* be won ; whether it *will* be won or not depends on ourselves. So let us build the War Front in India, while there is yet time. And let me end by commending to you two lines which my wife quoted in a speech some time ago—

“ Look in your hearts, make inquisition there
Of service done in this supreme of hours ”.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S MESSAGE TO THE
CIVIL SERVICES OF INDIA.

His Excellency the Viceroy's message to the Civil Services of India, on the 21st May 1942 :— 21st May
1942.

A little more than six years ago, I spoke to you, who are members of the Civil Services of India. I asked you to give to the people of India the best that is in you, to the limits of your strength, in the difficult years to come. I spoke to you at a time of peace, when none of us knew what grave events and what tremendous problems the years would bring. I asked you then for your support and help ; and, in peace and war, I have had it in full measure. From the bottom of my heart I thank you for it.

Yours is a brotherhood of service the like of which the world has never seen before. Men of different race and religion, Indians and Britons, highly trained and carefully chosen for your respective duties, you are linked together by common allegiance to one Crown and pledged to the service of millions of your fellow men, in many different fields,—Engineers, Doctors, Foresters, Scientists, Educationists, Policemen, Judges, Administrators and many others. You and your predecessors have set high standards, of loyalty, impartiality, sound judgment, humanity, an unselfish example and a co-operative spirit. By the steadiness with which you preserve in these, the torch which you hold up in India can be a bright flame of hope and encouragement in a distracted world.

Hard work, great responsibilities, often danger and discomfort, are your lot. In spite of this, I know well how keenly disappointed many of you are that you are not allowed at this time to serve your country on the battlefield. But let none of you think for a moment that he is not fighting for his country by steadily pursuing his appointed task, however prosaic and unspectacular that

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His Excellency the Viceroy's Message to the Civil Services of India.

may seem to be, and by shouldering cheerfully the additional burdens of the war. The rule of law, peace and security for the citizen, and the progress of civilized arts and sciences, which it is your task to promote and guard, are the very conditions of decent living for which we are all fighting. For the sake of the future and for the maintenance of public morale today ; for the safety and well-being of many helpless people who depend upon you there must be no interruption of your work. If you were to slacken or falter you would betray the common cause as surely as a soldier who deserts his post ; and that I know you will never willingly do.

Remember that the individual soldier can see only a small part of the battle-field : remember, too, that although the lime-light may not fall your way, the eyes of the people are fixed on you, and their temper and steadiness, if trouble should come, will greatly depend upon your leadership and your example. Be with them as much as possible. Serve and comfort them always. Put away doubts, and face whatever trials the future may bring with high hearts and a firm resolve to give the best you have got, and better still, of body and mind in whatever field your duty may be set. You are heirs to great traditions of courage and service, which you will not fail ; and today it is in the power of each of you to add a splendid page to the record.

Victory is assured, but single-minded endeavour now can bring the day of victory nearer. There is work enough for each one of you today : and when the swords are sheathed again, and a new world has to be built, there will be no lack of opportunity to share that great task. I promise you, for devoted and unselfish men and women in this India which you serve.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE
ADDRESS OF WELCOME READ TO HIM AT THE
RAWALPINDI DARBAR.**

His Excellency the Viceroy's Reply to the Address of welcome read to him at the Rawalpindi Darbar, on 19th October 1942. 19th October 1942.

Your Excellency and Gentlemen.—No man could witness unmoved a gathering such as yours today, in this famous Division of a famous Province ; and it is with deep gratitude and pride that I, your Viceroy, have listened to your words of welcome and to the splendid record of your achievements.

Wherever in the world there is talk of brave deeds and soldier-like qualities, of endurance and fortitude, the men of this land are brought to mind. Here for centuries generations of sturdy farmers have won their harvest from the hard earth, and have defended their heritage with courage and resolution. Since the dawn of history India has bred famous soldiers ; the hills and plains which surround us can justly claim to be a cradle of heroes, a soil which has nourished the flower of India's armies. There are among us today brave men who fought for freedom and civilization in the last World War, and now that these two precious jewels are in peril once again, their sons and grand-sons are keeping bright and sharp the sword they forged and are facing our common enemies with the same stout shield.

On every battlefield of this war, where our armies are fighting and have fought, Punjabis have won fresh laurels ; in France and the Middle East, in East Africa, in the Far East and in Burma. And where our armies stand on guard, or eagerly await the order to attack, there are Punjabis to be found, valiant wardens of their native land and loyal upholders of the United Nations' cause.

*His Excellency the Viceroy's Reply to the Address of welcome
read to him at the Rawalpindi Darbar.*

Foremost among them are the men whom the martial clans of this Division have sent forth. Your record of recruitment is magnificent, and you and your Recruiting Staff are justly proud of it. Your young men, following the honourable path of service which their fathers trod, have discovered that modern war gives them new weapons to master, and strange elements in which to excel. But, whether in the Royal Indian Navy, where they are so strongly represented, or in the Indian Air Force, or handling tanks and carriers with the same skill and confidence as a few years ago they rode their horses, the fighting men of the Punjab today nobly maintain and enhance the great traditions to which they are worthy heirs.

“The fighting man”, as a young Englishman, who was killed in the last war, wrote—

“The fighting man shall from the Sun,
Take warmth, and life from the glowing earth ;
Speed with the lightfoot winds to run,
And with the trees to newer birth ;
And find, when fighting shall be done,
Great rest, and fullness after dearth.”

I believe that our soldiers will have found something also, as well, something of great value in the task which will still face us all, once victory is ours, the task of setting to rights a shattered and disjointed world. They will have discovered unity of purpose and of endeavour. Such unity, though it may sometimes seem to be hidden unfathomably deep in India, is not, I believe, really so far below the surface. Certainly the war is day by day developing a very real sense of its urgency and importance in the minds of all thinking men. And among

His Excellency the Viceroy's Reply to the Address of welcome read to him at the Rawalpindi Darbar.

India's fighting men, the comradeship and loyalty of the battlefield will have engendered so strong a sense of unity with their brothers-in-arms, not only of Indian race, but of all peoples of the United Nations too, that, please God, when fighting is over, it will remain as one of the fruits of victory to inspire and illumine all our endeavours in the post-war world with a spirit of co-operation and goodwill.

I have said before that in modern warfare the battle front is of infinite depth. It runs through the homes and lives of all of us, and there is not a man, woman or child that cannot play a useful part. War, as you know, is not all fighting. Much of it has always been the unspectacular business of watching and waiting, of training and preparation, of co-operation in a thousand different ways behind the lines. In modern warfare particularly, a very important part is the attitude of mind of the peoples engaged, soldiers and civil population alike; a sense of realities, a determination never to yield to despair or impatience, which we call morale. The National War Front in India, a movement which is gaining in strength from day to day provides an opportunity for every one of us to bear a share in building up and maintaining that spirit of confidence, resolution and co-operation throughout the country, which is such a powerful support for the soldier in the front line.

You in Rawalpindi, who naturally look at these things through soldiers' eyes, will realise the importance of what I say. I was most encouraged to hear of the many ways in which, besides the supply of recruits to the fighting forces you have been mightily aiding the war effort; in your A.R.P. preparations and in the activities of your Civic Guards; in your splendid contri-

His Excellency the Viceroy's Reply to the Address of welcome read to him at the Rawalpindi Darbar.

contributions to War Funds ; in Red Cross and St. John Ambulance work. And I would like to mention the work of the Punjab Police who, supported by your good sense and the firm and consistent policy of the Ministry, have contributed so much to the peaceful record of the Punjab during the recent disturbances and have done so much to maintain security in the villages from which the young men have gone forth to war.

May I remind you, too, that many of you who have to remain at home can admirably support the men who are fighting for you, by looking after their interests while they are away, by helping the families of men who have gone overseas, by succouring the wounded and comforting the bereaved. This you can do on your own initiative in the villages, and by co-operation with the Civil authorities, the Civil liaison organization and the District Soldiers Boards, whose efforts can only bear fruit if they are freely given the help and goodwill of the people.

Among the advantages of a soldier's training I give a high place to a certain steadiness of outlook and sound commonsense, which no good soldier lacks. Throughout the ages these sterling yeoman qualities, ingrained as they are in the people of this Province, have caused the Punjab to play a solid, an exemplary and a distinguished part in the history of India's political and constitutional progress. The Punjab is fortunate in its leaders. You have a Governor, Sir Bertrand Glancy, of ripe experience and ready sympathy : you have a Prime Minister, (a great Prime Minister, if I may say so, and a man of your own Division) possessed of wise counsel and keen imagination ; and you have Ministers endowed with great

His Excellency the Viceroy's Reply to the Address of welcome read to him at the Rawalpindi Darbar.

industry and sound political sense. In this Division you are particularly fortunate for, as I have already mentioned, from Attock comes Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, under whose guidance and that of Sir Mohd. Nawaz Khan the district has done splendidly. In Rawalpindi Captain Tikka Khan and many others have contributed to the wonderful recruiting record. Jhelum is proud of the military prowess of Colonel Sir Sher Mohd. Khan, now commanding a battalion; Gujrat looks for guidance in the war effort and in many other things to Nawab Sir Fazal Ali; while in Shahpur there is that famous old soldier General Sir Umar Hayat Khan whose son, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, is doing such admirable work as a Minister of the Punjab Government. The Division has been fortunate too in its Commissioner, Mr. Marsden, who has held that important post since before the war began. With unflagging energy and with the full support of an able team of Deputy Commissioners and many other officials in all the departments, he has been stimulating the war effort in every district. They all deserve great credit for what has been achieved and it is most gratifying to hear the work of your officials so highly praised everywhere.

Under the leadership of men like these the qualities which I have mentioned, the gift of keeping both feet on the ground and the eyes fixed on realities, have enabled the Punjab today to maintain peace and order, and to continue steadily with its great war effort, while in other parts of India ill and misguided counsels have led so many to the bitter and poisonous waters of civil commotion. By their steadfastness and commonsense Punjabis, and those of the Rawalpindi Division as much as any, are helping to bring near the day of victory for

His Excellency the Viceroy's Reply to the Address of welcome presented to him by the Shahi Jirga and the Municipal Committee at Quetta.

the United Nations, and for all India the day on which she shall enter into her promised heritage.

The land of the Five Rivers breeds a race of mighty wrestlers, who know what courage and endurance means. We are now grappled in a mortal struggle with a powerful adversary, skilled in the use of many a trick and foul throw. We have wrestled all through the night, and once or twice we have been nearly thrown. But we have our enemy firmly now and as the day dawns his breath begins to come short and fast. Let us hold on grimly and watch for our opportunity. All our training, our stubbornness, our confidence and enthusiasm will have its reward. Soon now we shall throw him, and it will be a mighty fall. He will never rise again and we shall stand forth at last victors, and free men in a free world.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESSES OF WELCOME PRESENTED TO HIM BY THE SHAHI JIRGA AND THE MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE AT QUETTA.

22nd October 1942. His Excellency the Viceroy's Reply to the Addresses of welcome presented to him by the Shahi Jirga and the Municipal Committee at Quetta, on Thursday, the 22nd October 1942 :—

Sir Aubrey Metcalf, Ladies and Gentlemen,—
I am most grateful for the reception which you have given me, and I am delighted that I have at last had the opportunity, to which I have looked forward for so long, of visiting Baluchistan and the city of Quetta. I thank you, members of the Shahi Jirga, leaders and representatives of the tribes of Baluchistan, for your kind words of welcome, and for your loyal assurances. You have

His Excellency, the Viceroy's Reply to the Addresses of welcome presented to him by the Shahi Jirga and the Municipal Committee at Quetta.

given practical expression to your loyalty in the co-operation which you have extended to the local administration, not only by maintaining peace and order among your tribes, but also by producing recruits for the Camel Corps, labour for defence works and additional levies for the protection of Government property and installations. I fully appreciate your concern that the natural resources of Baluchistan should be developed to the greatest extent, and indeed it would be in the interests not only of this Province, but of the rest of India too, if it were possible to make full use of its mineral wealth, and in particular of its coal. I assure you that this matter shall have the close attention of my Government. I hope too, that with a view to increasing the self-sufficiency of this area, the importance of increasing the production of food crops will not be forgotten, within the limits prescribed by the facilities for irrigation.

I deeply appreciate the contribution which under your guidance the people of Baluchistan have made and are making to the war effort of India, and not least, at this time especially, by the steadiness and sturdy commonsense with which they have refused to allow the internal peace and order which prevails in this Province to be disturbed.

I am grateful to you, members of the Quetta Municipal Committee, for your cordial welcome. I well know the difficulties which have faced you in recent years; first from the effects of the great earthquake, then the war and now the interruption of communications caused by this summer's floods in Sind.

You are entitled not only to sympathy but to admiration too, for the energy and imagination with which

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you have grappled with this succession of problems, and I am glad to learn that your handling of the supply arrangements and the rationing of essential commodities has not been without success. I need not assure you that I shall continue to watch the position with keen personal interest, and shall give such assistance as I can to your efforts to obtain what you require from outside

You have reason to congratulate yourselves on the remarkable figures which you have quoted of Baluchistan's financial contribution to the war effort. Part of your contribution has taken very tangible and practical shape as armoured carriers, and I deeply appreciate the steady support which my War Purposes Fund continues to receive from this Province.

I appreciate, too, the helpful attitude of the Municipal Committee towards the measures which have to be taken for air raid precautions. I am glad of the opportunity which I have just had of inspecting your A.R.P. Services : they are a workmanlike body of men and women and I know that should the need arise for them to put into practice all that they have learnt during their long months of training and preparation, they will amply prove their worth.

I know the difficulties in recruiting and training such services in an area where the population is to a great extent migratory, but I would like to express my keen appreciation of what has been achieved, and to say that the citizens of Quetta owe a debt of gratitude to these public-spirited men and women who have given up their leisure to prepare themselves for the defence of the lives and property of their fellows. It is an example which deserves not only praise and gratitude, but emulation, and there are still many among your fellow-citizens who

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could afford to join their ranks, and vie with them in their enthusiasm and their determination to contribute their utmost to the winning of the war.

This is a war of all the people, of every man, woman and child, in whatever walk of life, however far from the battle zone. Let each one of you remember that your individual effort, added to the joint effort of the many millions of the people of the United Nations can shorten the war by bringing nearer the triumph of our arms, by a day, an hour, a minute. There is not a moment to be lost : for in modern warfare, which is total war, the hastening of victory by a day or an hour may mean the saving of hundreds or thousands of lives.

The National War Front, which is gaining so steadily in strength throughout India, is a front on which you can all fight. Scotch idle rumour and scorn the insidious and lying propaganda of the enemy. Build up a strong bulwark in your hearts of confidence and resolution. Take courage from the certainties which are before your eyes. We have been swimming against a strong current, but the tide is surely turning now. At one time we fought alone, but look now at the great peoples and armies of our Allies who are by our side : the people of the United States, of Russia, of China, and many others. Consider the mighty armaments which we are accumulating day by day and with which we shall soon outstrip and overwhelm the enemy. He is still strong and formidable, but he is becoming desperate, and his days are numbered. His strength is the strength of ruthlessness, oppression, cruelty and treachery, but our strength is the strength of all free men, and our cause is just.

Hold on then, grimly and with determination. Put every ounce of your strength, of body and mind, into a

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supreme effort, and you will find that the day is not far distant when we, with our Allies, shall sweep forward like an irresistible flood which will drown deep the forces of evil and wash the memory of their foulness for ever from the earth.

My time in India is drawing to an end—in a few months now I hand over to my successor. Let me say how great a pleasure it has been to me before the close of my Viceroyalty to have been able to visit Baluchistan, to see for myself the progress of reconstruction here, and the invaluable contribution that the Province is making to the prosecution of the war.

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ber 1942. His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on 17th December 1942 :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—As you have reminded me, this is the seventh occasion on which I have had the honour of addressing the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India. It is an occasion to which throughout my Viceroyalty I have always looked forward, and an opportunity which I deeply value of talking to you, Gentlemen, on the great problems of the day. This is the last time that that honour will fall to me, for though, as your President has so kindly said, the King has been pleased to ask me to retain my present office for a further period, by the time that the Associated Chambers next hold their annual meeting I shall no

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longer be in India. I welcome all the more your kindness today in inviting me to be present and thus giving me the opportunity to take farewell of the Associated Chambers, and to thank them for all the invaluable help and co-operation that they, and those for whom they stand in this country, have given me through seven long and anxious years.

Before I proceed to the business of my speech, I would like to associate myself most warmly with what you said about His Excellency the Governor, Sir John Herbert, whom we are so glad to see here today, and about Lady Mary. He has had an anxious and difficult time as the Governor of this great Presidency at a time when Bengal, and Eastern India as a whole, have been in the front line. We owe him a great debt for his energy, his interest, and his constant anxiety to see that everything possible is done to safeguard his charge, and to protect a vital bastion of India's defence. And we all of us know how constant and how invaluable has been the help lent him by Lady Mary Herbert in all good causes in Bengal.

In your speech, Sir, you have touched on a number of matters of great interest and importance. You took occasion, if I may deal with that matter in the first place, to sound a note of warning against the withdrawal of all incentive from private enterprise, and in this connection you cited the policy of His Majesty's Government in regard to a rebate of excess profits tax. As you are aware, the policy of the Government of India in regard to the rate of the excess profits tax in this country has been markedly more generous than in some parts of the Empire, or than in the United Kingdom. For its effect is to leave to an enterprise in this country, subject of course to

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income-tax and super-tax, one-third of the excess profits, in addition to the whole of the profits of the most favourable standard period or, in the case of new concerns, a generous percentage on the invested capital. I venture to think that in the conditions created by a total war the incentive thus left to private enterprise is very real. I would claim indeed that it is as great as could reasonably be expected. And you are aware, gentlemen, too, that arrangements exist under which a rebate of excess profits tax to be paid after the war can be obtained by depositing twice the amount of the rebate with Government at 2 per cent. interest for the period of the war and one year thereafter. Action on these lines would seem to be a wise precaution on the part of industry, and as profitable as wise. I trust sincerely therefore that industrialists will utilise the concession which has been offered. For by doing so not only will they benefit themselves. They will help to achieve the immobilisation for the period of the war of as much as possible of the excess profits earned during the war, and so to reduce the pressure of enhanced purchasing power on the general price level ; and they will in that way make a material contribution to the country's interest.

And in that connection let me refer to the risk of an inflationary rise of prices. That is an issue of vital importance, and one which is continually present to my advisers. It is one in which responsibility lies as heavily on the public as it does on the Government. Few will deny that production must continue at maximum intensity, and must expand wherever possible in the interests of the war effort. But that inevitably means the existence in the country of a great and continually growing volume of purchasing power, since

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payment for everything that is produced must be made in rupees in India, whether the expenditure is incurred on Indian account, or on account of His Majesty's Government, or for the purpose of reciprocal aid to the forces of the United States of America stationed here. The actual allocation of cost has no relevance in this connection, and the problem will clearly be with us on a continually growing scale for at least as long as the war lasts.

I would like if I may to emphasize again that for a solution of this difficult and important problem the Government must be able to rely on the utmost assistance, co-operation and support from the non-official world. I look to the leaders of commerce and industry, who have given us such invaluable help in the past, to assist in securing an adequate response to the Government of India's defence loans. But above all I am convinced of the necessity for small savings playing their part. During the three and a quarter years since the war started the small saver's contribution to the return, as savings, of a portion of the vast volume of purchasing capacity which the war and supply activities of the country are placing in the hands of the people has—and I say it with regret—been of negligible importance. That is far from a healthy state of affairs. I am sure that personal interest, and active propaganda, can do much to better it. I would appeal to all employers of labour to organise, encourage, and assist their employees to save, and to conserve their savings, through the various avenues which the Government of India have provided for the purpose. I know that it is only by persistent and unremitting effort on the part of all employers of labour that that can effectively be done. But if that effort is

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made, and maintained, there will be results of immense benefit to all sections in this country, and not least to the poorer classes, whom the rise in prices most seriously affects. I am sure, Gentlemen, that where your great authority and influence are concerned, I can with confidence look for the fullest help and co-operation in this matter.

I listened with close attention, Sir, to your remarks on the all-important question of food supplies. This is a question constantly present to me, and never more so than during recent months. The creation of the new Department of Food, to which you have referred in such friendly terms, will I trust before very long effect some improvement in the situation. Close study of the cause of the present apparent shortages and the high prices which are evident in many centres suggests that though India has, of course, been deprived of its accustomed rice imports from Burma, the difficulties of the present situation are due less to any real deficiency of supplies than to the mental reactions of great sections of the community to the abnormal times in which we are living. I realise fully that the greatly increased calls made on the transport system of this country for defence purposes reduce its ability to do all that it did in pre-war days for the movement of civil supplies. But, since August last, the railways have allowed priority to the transport of food-grains, and I am assured that in this respect there is now considerably less delay and dislocation than were reported to be prevailing five or six months ago. Nevertheless during recent months the supply situation has grown more acute and prices have risen with increased rapidity.

It is sometimes suggested that our present troubles are due to the policy of price and movement control

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adopted by the Government of India, and by various Provincial and States Governments, and that if trade were left free from restriction the interaction of supply and demand would result in commodities finding their way where they were most needed, and in a price level determined by normal forces. That is a plausible contention, and it merits careful scrutiny. But I am myself, after anxious thought, convinced that it is unsound. The control of supplies and prices has been found necessary by practically every administration in the world today. No one is more disinclined to embark upon the perilous and difficult course of control than a Government. For Governments know all too well the troubles and anxieties that control brings with it, and, in experience, they have recourse to this policy when, and only when, the operation of uncontrolled economic forces has produced a situation which can no longer be permitted to continue unchecked. And to remove controls is not, to my mind, the solution of the present difficulties. On the contrary the proper course may probably lie in the direction of an extension of control to a wider range of articles, and of a more direct participation by Government themselves in the actual procurement and distribution of supplies.

I will not take up your time, Gentlemen, with any detailed narrative of the steps my Government have taken and are taking. The Wheat Control Order, the Regional Price and Supply Boards, the Food-grains Control Order, the Grow More Food Campaign, are all evidence of the anxiety of my Government to deal with this most important problem. In the matter of price control, as thorny a question as any, much has been done.

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More still may have to be attempted. The difficulties of enforcing maximum prices by penal provision are only too familiar to you. And the existence of black markets is well known. But while we may not have had full success in enforcing maximum prices I am certain that the prescription of such prices had a very real and immediate value, to the extent that it has served to retard the rate of price increase over the whole range of the commodity controlled. And let me say in that connection that I fully agree with what you, Sir, have said, about the simplification of the licensing and permit system ; and that it will be the aim of the new Department to simplify control operations as much as possible, in the interests alike of administration and of the general public.

But whatever policy is adopted, or whatever measures are put into force, no lasting success can be hoped for without the wholehearted co-operation of the whole body of the community. If the workers in our transport and communication systems, our war industries, and our essential services cannot be provided with the wherewithal to live at a price within their means, the war effort will be crippled and the country itself exposed to grave dangers. It is more essential now than ever that every citizen should sink his individual interests in the common cause, and realise that, if he concentrates on serving himself alone, he is endangering not only the stability of the whole community but his personal security as well. I would therefore associate myself, Sir, most wholeheartedly with your plea for the co-operation of all the interests involved in solving our present difficulties, difficulties, as I have said, due not so much to shortage of resources as to disturbances

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of normal routine. 'If we secure that co-operation, the difficulties which are now being experienced throughout India will shrink to less menacing proportions. No effort, let me assure you, will be spared to meet a situation the gravity and importance of which my Government so fully realise.

You referred, Sir, to the difficult questions that arise in connection with the requisitioning of business and residential property. I need not say that my sympathy is very great indeed for those who, whether in their business arrangements or in their private lives, have had to suffer the grave and serious inconvenience which requisitioning involves. I note with full attention and appreciation the views that you have expressed on this matter, and I will see that they are brought to the notice of my Government, who already have the whole matter under active consideration.

When I had the honour of addressing the Associated Chambers on previous occasions since the outbreak of the war, I dealt in some detail with the work of the Supply Department. I trust sincerely that you, Gentlemen, who are so closely concerned, and so familiar, with the operations of that Department, are satisfied that we are doing our best. I think you will agree with me that we have achieved immense things in the field of supply. Errors and misunderstandings there must always be. It is impossible to avoid them. But, broadly speaking, we can feel that in the field of supply India has made a contribution of outstanding importance and value, and nothing will be left undone to ensure that during the remainder of the war the upward curve of improvement and of development shall be maintained.

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I do not propose today to trouble you with any lengthy details of progress under particular heads. But one or two facts and figures I might quote, for they are very striking. For the first six months of the war the value of contracts placed was approximately 29 crores. For the six months from April to October 1942 it was 137 crores. Over the whole period to the end of October 1942 it has been no less than 428 crores. And those figures exclude the value of the work done in the Ordnance Factories, which is in itself very considerable. They include only the contracts actually placed through our Purchase Branch.

During the last year, progress with the Roger Mission projects has been satisfactory, and I hope that the Roger Mission programme as a whole will be getting into production from the early months of 1943 onwards. The preparatory work in India has been ahead of the receipt of plant and equipment from abroad. The flow of munitions components from trade workshops is maintained. The magnitude of India's effort in respect of munitions and engineering stores is now shown by the tightness of key materials such as steel, of which very considerable imports are expected from the United States. Further important schemes for the expansion of steel production have been approved.

On the general stores side, our measures to double the production of filature-reeled silk are well in hand, and the production of statichutes on a substantial scale is established. The production of web equipment, which was *nil* before the war, now stands at about 200,000 sets a month, and unless the demand decreases it will be doubled in the course of 1943. The possibility of expanding the chemicals industry is under active consi-

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deration. Ship construction has been amalgamated with ship repairs, and a new Directorate-General established at Bombay to deal with both activities.

The year indeed has in the supply field been one of steady progress. We welcomed during its course the visit of the American Technical Mission, which was a very useful stimulant and most helpful to us in every way. The far-reaching scheme of industrial expansion recommended by the Mission would, if accepted in full, have involved the earliest supply to India by the United States of large quantities of materials and equipment, and of large numbers of technical personnel. The United States Government have found it impossible to implement this programme in full in present conditions. But they have generously offered to consider any projects which are essential for war effort, and to which the Government of India attach particular importance ; and we are already receiving very significant assistance from the United States in the form of materials, machinery and plant. Let me only add that during the unhappy disturbances of this autumn labour at most industrial centres remained staunch, and those losses of working time that had to be recorded were due rather to the difficulties to which the workers were subjected than to any desire to go slow on the part of the workers themselves.

I welcome your friendly reference to the work of my Commerce Department. Much of the war work that has fallen to that Department has necessarily involved interference, often serious interference, with the normal practices of industry and commerce, and it is perhaps natural that its activities, though undertaken for the common benefit ; should have been the cause of dissatisfaction to

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individuals. I appreciate the more your remarks about its attitude in the more directly beneficent field of war risk insurance. And I am emboldened to believe that, on a wider and more detached view, its anxiety to mitigate the inevitable unpleasantness attached to measures of control will also receive recognition. Let me assure you, Gentlemen, that the Government of India are most appreciative of the invaluable assistance which they have received from the War Risk Insurance Advisory Committee, as well as of the co-operation of the Insurance Companies, which have consented to work as Government Agents in return for out-of-pocket expenses only—a notable voluntary contribution to the war effort.

I have listened, Sir, with close attention and interest to what you said about British trade and commerce in this country. Your anxiety, in your own words, is that British trade should be given a fair deal, and allowed to conduct its business without discrimination or expropriation; and you touched in your remarks on the history of Britain's contribution to India, whether in the commercial or in the administrative field. I was glad to hear what you said. For there is too great a tendency, and not merely where India is concerned, for Great Britain and the British people, confident as they are in fact in their own record and in their own capacity, to show that confidence by self-depreciation, a self-depreciation which is unjustified, and which is very apt to be misunderstood. Whether in this war, or in the past, Great Britain can, with all humility, claim that she has achieved great things, and that her contribution to human progress and happiness, and her record, and that of her citizens, at home or abroad, in commerce, in administration or in the Fighting Services, is one to be proud of.

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And there is no part of the Empire in which we can look back on a greater record of achievement than in India. Law and order, the arts of peace, greatly raised standards of wealth and of prosperity, the elimination for practical purposes of grave famine, of disease, throughout this sub-continent, that security in which India has been able industrially and politically to reach her present high place among the nations of the world—these are great services rendered. Our achievement in India is one that need not fear comparison with any corresponding work in the world. It is indeed to its magnitude that much of the criticism which you mention is due. For it is easy, indeed it is but natural, living in the long settled peace for which Great Britain is responsible, under the unity that Great Britain has achieved, that the decades of war and internecine strife through which this country had passed before British authority was established on its present basis should be forgotten.

In the specifically commercial field to which you have referred, India has derived, and derives today, great benefit, as you, Sir, have reminded us, from the British connection. The immense importance to her of her foreign trade, and of the British trading and business community, the significance to India of the position of the Empire's capital as the centre of a world-wide system, her ability as a unit of the Empire to turn that position to special advantage, were not and could not have been created on the basis of a policy of excluding overseas and foreign interests or personnel. And I cannot believe that the significance of that fact, so well established by general experience elsewhere, will be lost on the India of the future. Whatever mistakes may

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have been made—and who of us, and what country, is there that has not made mistakes?—we can, I repeat, with all humility claim that Great Britain and her citizens have earned for themselves an honoured place in India, by the standards they have set and by the benefits which long years of peace and prosperity have brought to this country. I am confident that the assistance of the British community, and the benefit of the British connection to the upholding of India's business traditions and the maintenance and development of India's post-war position in international trade, will be as readily afforded in the future as they have been in the past.

The year now drawing to a close has been one of very great importance in every way for India. For all of us on whom rests the burden of conducting the affairs of this great country it has been one at times of deep anxiety, whether in terms of the internal or the external situation. When we last met Japan had just entered the war. The early part of this year was marked by the invasion of Malaya, the Japanese advance into Burma, the very active threat to the shores of India, Japanese naval activity in the Bay of Bengal and elsewhere, attacks on Vizagapatam and Ceylon, and strong pressure from Japan in North-eastern India. We had reason for anxiety, too, because of the news from other parts of the Fighting Front. In attack and in defence we have worked in those dark times in close association with the gallant forces of China, whose Generalissimo and his wife I was so happy to welcome on behalf of India in February; of the United States, whose reception from all quarters in India has been so sincere; and of the warrior Kingdom

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of Nepal, to which and to whose Prime Minister we are bound by such close ties.

In India itself I cannot speak too highly of the steps taken by all concerned to perfect our preparations against invasion, to sustain morale, to organise to meet any situation that might arise. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and the Defence Forces in this country—naval, military or air—have spared no effort. Defence arrangements have been developed on a great scale. Recruitment and training of troops has been pressed on with the utmost vigour. There have been immense strides forward in civil defence. The keen and constant interest shown in that vital matter by my own Department of Civil Defence, has been equally marked throughout India, whether in the Provinces or in the Indian States. We find ourselves today in a happier condition so far as civil defence is concerned than at any earlier period in the war, and the necessity for civil defence, and the organisation that has been developed in connection with it has brought home directly to many whom the war might not in the ordinary way have closely touched the essential importance to India of being able to stand on her own feet, and to repel any attack that may be made from outside.

In the internal field we have, to my keen and deep regret, had to deal since I last addressed you with an uprising, consequent on the programme of the leaders of the Congress party, of great gravity and great severity. That uprising, which had no support from great sections of the Hindu community, from which the Muslim community and other important parts of the population of India dissociated themselves, which affected only in the smallest degree the Indian States, was perhaps the work of a numerically small but very important section. But

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that section, carefully organised, and unscrupulous, I am sorry to say it, in the methods it adopted, indifferent to the creed of non-violence to which such prominence has been given, was able to cause immense damage, serious dislocation of communications, much destruction of public and private property, heavy loss to the tax-payer, the deaths of many innocent persons. At a time when the efforts of all of us were directed, and necessarily directed, to protecting India against Japanese aggression and to building up supplies and stores for our own defence and for the battle against the Axis it resulted in a serious diversion of military forces and an interruption, deeply to be regretted, in the war effort.

To the sorrow of all of us who care for the good name of India, those disturbances were disfigured by very shocking cases of brutality and violence. And a grievous feature of them is the use to which designing men endeavoured to turn, and indeed succeeded in many cases in turning, the young enthusiasm, the intelligence, and the lack of experience of the student community. Those who diverted those young men, young men of such promise, with their future just opening before them, into the dangerous paths of civil tumult and disorder, carry an immense responsibility to India, and to the ardent and generous youth which they have led astray. In restoring order everything possible was done to use the minimum degree of force, and to cause the minimum disturbance. The success of that policy is shown by the very low figures of casualties. The situation is well in hand as I speak to you today, though even now in certain areas it continues to call for the utmost vigilance and care.

I would like to pay a tribute to the admirable work done in restoring order by the Services, military and civil

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alike, and in particular by the police, on whom there fell so heavy a burden. And I would like to say a word of warm and sincere thanks on behalf not only of myself, and of my Government, but on behalf of India, to those solid and sober elements throughout the country who, in times of great difficulty, stood by Government, gave their full co-operation to those whose business it was to maintain law and order, and at great risk to themselves, and sometimes at the cost of grave injury, formed rallying points around which the law-abiding and the loyal citizen could gather, and from which he could get assurance and support.

Since the war began you and I have had heavy anxieties. We have realised how great a burden the war has placed upon the Empire and upon India. We have realised, too, as I ventured to say to you in 1939, that the fate of India in the international sphere turns on the success of the Allied Arms. We have been heartened and supported in those dark days by India's response, by her generosity in men, money, and materials, by the heroism of her sons, whether from British India or the Indian States. As I speak to you today the outlook is brighter. We are far still from the end of our troubles. There lie ahead of us before final and decisive victory can be won, much hard fighting, inevitable reverses, possibly even serious disasters. All those things are what war is made of. They must be expected. They must be provided against so far as we can hope to make such provision. If things go badly reverses must be borne with a stout heart, with a resolution to amend what has been faulty, and to go ahead with confidence and courage, and with the certainty that we have right behind us, and that victory is ours in the end. But you and I, whether in

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our private lives in public affairs, are all of us conscious today of the improvement that has taken place, of the immense difference made by the brilliant campaigns that have been waged last year and this year by our Russian Allies ; by the successes of the Allied Arms in Africa, successes in which Indian troops played so distinguished and outstanding a part ; and by the great battle that even as I speak the forces of the United States and those of the Commonwealth of Australia are fighting in the Far East. It is too early yet for optimism. But we can feel that our earlier confidence in the successful outcome of the struggle, however dark at times things may have seemed, has been justified, and that, while no effort can be relaxed, we can look forward with an easier mind to the concluding stages of the war.

I listened with deep satisfaction to the remarks which you, Sir, were kind enough to make about the Governor-General's Executive Council, and the tribute which you were good enough to pay to its work. Since we last met, that Council has undergone a material expansion. Working in the closest of contact with its Members and with the Council as a whole, I can, from my own knowledge and experience, speak of its capacity, its courage, its unity, its devotion to the interests of India. I need not tell you how great is the value to the Governor-General of colleagues such as those with whom it is now my good fortune to work in the Executive Council.

I turn now with your permission, Gentlemen, to the position in the constitutional field. I came here in 1936 with the hope that before I handed over I might see in full operation the Act of 1935, an Act often criticized, but the result of years of patient work by the best minds of India

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and Great Britain. That Act provided, as you will remember, for extensive autonomy in the provincial sphere and for a federation of India at the Centre.

The scheme of provincial autonomy came into being in April 1937, and it has been in operation since that date. The Congress Party, who at first were critical of the scheme, decided in July 1937 to take advantage of it, and in those provinces in which there was a Congress majority in the legislature Congress Governments remained in power till October 1939. They then decided that they could no longer carry the responsibilities which fell upon them, and withdrew from office. In the absence of a majority government, those provinces have since that date been governed under the special provisions of the Act. In the remaining Provinces autonomous governments have throughout (save for a brief period in Assam and in Orissa) been in control of the affairs of their provinces, and are in control today.

In the provincial field let me say at once that I am perfectly satisfied, after the experience of the six years since 1937, with the essential soundness of the scheme of provincial autonomy. It has worked with success in all the Provinces. As I speak, it is working smoothly in Bengal, the Punjab, Assam, Sind, and Orissa. It would work equally well in the remaining Provinces, as in fact it did, were those for whom the scheme is designed but ready to work it. That we have had to resort to the emergency provisions of the Act is due to no flaw in the scheme. It is the result of a political decision by the majority party not to carry their responsibilities.

In the Centre the position is different. The Act of 1935 provided for a Federation of India—a federal scheme designed to bring together the Provinces of British India

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and the Indian States, with a Central Legislature based on a substantial franchise, with solid foundations in the country, representative of the Indian States and British India alike. The scheme of the Act would have transferred power to Ministers at the Centre drawing their support from the legislature. It would have brought together British India and the Indian States. It would have produced in the Centre a scheme of government representative of all parties, communities and interests.

When the war broke out, the preparations for bringing the federation into being, though far advanced, were not yet complete, and, in the immense strain that fell upon us in the opening days of the war, there was nothing for it but to concentrate on the winning of the war and to suspend those preparations. The Government of India continues therefore to be based on the same principles as before the Act of 1935—the Governor-General and his Executive Council responsible to the Secretary of State and to Parliament.

While as I have said, work on federation has been suspended, I have never concealed from you my own sincere and firm belief in the value of the federal scheme, representing as it did the maximum of agreement between the great communities, the political parties, British India and the States, that could be obtained at the time when the Act was framed. The federal scheme has its imperfections. It can be attacked, as it was attacked, on various grounds, and with plausibility.

But whatever its imperfections, it would have made an immense contribution to Indian political advance. It would have solved the great bulk of the problems in the constitutional field that we have heard so much of over these last few years. It would have welded together with

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the consent of all concerned, in a common partnership, and for common objects, British India and the Indian States. And it would have provided (and that is what I regard as so very important) a government representative, authoritative, covering the whole, or almost the whole, of India, composed of persons of the highest standing in this country, able to speak with authority, and with general support, on behalf of this sub-continent.

Since I felt at the time that with the postponement of the federal scheme it was of great importance to broaden the basis, and to introduce certain changes in the character, of the Governor-General's Executive Council, I was anxious to get the support of the great political parties, and to produce at the Centre as representative a government as could be found. I will not weary you, Gentlemen, with the details of the discussions, the negotiations, the public statements, that have been made over the last three years. You are familiar with their general outline. Suffice it to say this.

On the one hand during that time my Council has been changed from a body with a European and an official majority, and with a total strength of 7 in addition to the Governor-General, into a body of 15, of whom two only are officials, and three only, in addition to the Commander-in-Chief and myself, Europeans. The remaining portfolios are held by men of the highest character and distinction in the Indian political field, men with long records of service to India behind them; many of them men who have held office in provincial governments in the past.

In a different field I have been at pains to try to associate popular opinion in the provinces with the work which the Centre has been doing, and in particular with

*His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Annual Meeting of
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the work which it has been doing in connection with the war. The establishment of a National Defence Council, some members of which I am glad to see here today, has resulted in periodic meetings of a very highly qualified body, representative of all the provinces of British India as well as of the Indian States, a body that has been taken into the fullest confidence and from which there are no secrets, a body well able to supplement the changed character of my Executive Council by first-hand knowledge of provincial feeling and provincial views.

Taking the various stages which I have just mentioned together, we can thus claim, despite the decision as to the federal scheme, to have made a very material and a very real advance during the last three years in the association of non-official Indians with government in this country.

That is something. But it is not all one could have wished for. As you, Gentlemen, know so well, my efforts have been directed during all this period to getting the parties together, to bringing about with any help that I could give that measure of agreement which is so essential if we are to have a workable scheme. One difficulty after another has been brought forward. One attempt after another has been made by His Majesty's Government, the Secretary of State and myself to deal with such difficulties. My own anxiety to see an end of those difficulties, to see India united in agreement, has throughout been as deep and as sincere as it is today. And that is true equally of the Secretary of State and of His Majesty's Government.

I am the more disappointed in those circumstances that none of the efforts so sincerely made should have achieved the object at which we aimed and at which we

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aim today. Indeed* it sometimes seems that our very endeavours to dissipate misconceptions and misunderstandings have tended to widen the gulf between those whom we desire to unite rather than to narrow it. The attitude of His Majesty's Government, their anxiety to see India self-governing under a scheme devised in full freedom by the principal elements in India's national life, their readiness to leave this matter to a body composed of Indians themselves, have been declared in the most emphatic and in the most solemn manner. The mission of Sir Stafford Cripps to this country in the spring of this year was but the latest evidence of the sincerity of His Majesty's Government in this matter. And, as you will all of you remember, when the proposals carried by Sir Stafford were made public, the verdict of world opinion was that those were reasonable proposals, and proposals the genuineness and the profound importance of which could not be questioned.

But those proposals, too, failed to secure agreement. The reasons for which they proved unacceptable to the various parties were, as has been the case throughout the melancholy history of this question, mutually destructive. And today I see with deep regret little to encourage me to hope that the conflicting claims (and I do not question for a moment the sincerity with which those claims are advanced and pressed) of the great parties and communities in this country are likely in any degree to be abated. Yet for all that, I would like to feel that the problem is not beyond the genius of Indian leadership, and that it may yet be possible for the various parties to come together and co-operate in forming the executive government of this country.

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I have spoken often to you in my earlier addresses of the importance of unity in this country. Geographically India, for practical purposes, is one. I would judge it to be as important as it ever was in the past, nay more important, that we should seek to conserve that unity in so far as it may be built up consistently with full justice for the rights and the legitimate claims of the minorities, whether those minorities be great or small. That that would be a desirable aim no one, Gentlemen, can doubt who tests that proposition in terms of foreign policy, of tariff policy, of defence policy, of industrial development. Can India speak with the authority that she is entitled to claim? Can she play her part effectively at international discussions, at discussions with the other parts of the Empire, if she is to speak with two voices? Indian unity, subject as I have said to full and sufficient provision for the minorities, accepted as such by those minorities, is of great and real importance if India is to carry the weight which she ought to carry in the counsels of the Empire and of the world.

But there are hard practical issues that have got to be faced before any true solution can be found. Political opinion in all responsible quarters must discover a middle road along which all men of goodwill may march. That indeed is the difficult but essential task which must be performed if India is to achieve the great position we all desire for her. The policy of His Majesty's Government in respect of the future status of India is clear beyond any question. But the achievement of a particular status carries with it heavy obligations. In the modern world, whether we like it or not, a readiness to accept heavy financial burdens, to accept liability for defence on whatever scale one's geographical position demands, at what-

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ever cost ; all those are essential. So many today found their hopes and their plans on the confident assurance that the post-war world will be a safe world. I sincerely hope that it will be so. But if that end is to be achieved, and maintained, constant vigilance, constant effort, constant forethought, will be needed. And all that is relevant to what I have just said about the unity of India. A divided people cannot carry the weight that it ought to carry, or make its way in the world with the same confident expectation of success.

But equally, mere artificial unity, without genuine agreement between the component parts, may well be a danger rather than an advantage. For fissures that reveal themselves under pressure from outside are more dangerous than fissures the existence of which is well known and can be provided against. It is only by understanding between party and party, between community and community, understanding that begets trust and confidence, that is based on a liberal acceptance by the parties to it of the historic traditions, the legitimate claims, of the other to a place in the scheme of things that there comes that truly welded result which is able to stand shocks from whatever corner of the compass. Is not that result worth working for ? Is it not worth some sacrifice, if some sacrifice must be its price ?

Great Britain's help is always available and has been freely offered. In the time that I have been in this country one proposition after another has been advanced by His Majesty's Government and by myself in the hope of producing a generally acceptable solution. I can myself claim to have brought together Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi, though unhappily without result. I have worked very hard, if unsuccessfully, to bridge the gulf

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between parties, interests and communities. Let me say one thing only before I pass from this subject. We are familiar with the suggestion that the troubles of India are due to Great Britain's refusal to part with power. I would say exactly the contrary. Those troubles are due to Great Britain's expressed readiness to part with power. It is because agreement cannot be reached between the conflicting interests in this country as to who is to take over the responsibilities which Great Britain is only too ready to transfer to Indian hands, that the deadlock has arisen. It is from no reluctance on our part to transfer them.

Gentlemen, the further period for which His Majesty has been pleased to ask me to serve in my present office is a short one now. In ten months time or so I shall hand over to the new Viceroy. Believe me when I say that if in that time I can help to bridge these gulfs which I have spoken of, I shall leave India a happy man. India and all of us have had to face grave and exacting problems during this time of war—very great dangers, heavy responsibilities, much waste of life, much pouring out of resources that could have been turned to such advantage in the arts of peace. The end of the war, so eagerly hoped for by all of us, is not the end of our troubles. When the war ends, we shall be faced by problems that will tax our public spirit, our courage, our resources of body and mind, to the maximum. The problems of demobilisation, of reconstruction, of the resettlement of these great armies, of the adjustment of

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India to post-war world economic conditions, will be immense. In discharge of the commitment of His Majesty's Government it will be for the principal elements in India's national life to devise their own proposals for the future government of this country, and to reach on those proposals that agreement that is, as I have already said,* so essential if any workable and permanent scheme is to be devised. That by itself would be a heavy task. But though it may be the most important task, it will be one only of those that will fall to India on the conclusion of the war. If before I leave this country I could see that understanding and agreement between the great Indian parties that is a pre-requisite of internal contentment and of progress, I would leave India well satisfied that while progress in these matters, whether in India or elsewhere, must be a business of trial and error, and may be slower than many of us could wish, still that all was set for the consummation of those ideals that have been so close to the heart of those of us who have worked for India's future and for the raising of her stature in the comity of nations.

Gentlemen, I thank you for the attention with which you have listened to me this morning. I will keep you no longer. But on this, the last occasion on which I shall address you, I would like with sincerity and profound gratitude to thank you for the consistent support, for the understanding and for the confidence that over seven years you have given me. It has been invaluable to me, and my gratitude for it is deep indeed.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION, THE INDIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY AND THE JOINT WAR COMMITTEE ON TUESDAY, THE 23RD MARCH 1943.

3rd March
1943.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association, the Indian Red Cross Society and the Joint War Committee on Tuesday, the 23rd March 1943 :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It gives me much pleasure to preside once again over this meeting and to extend to you all a cordial welcome to Viceroy's House. I should like first of all to thank you, Sir Cameron, and you, Sir Gordon, for your kind references to what my wife and I have been able to do for the great organisations of the Red Cross and St. John of which it is our privilege to be Presidents. During the seven years we have been in India we have derived great satisfaction and pleasure from our association with these organisations which do such splendid work in the mitigation of suffering and the promotion of measures designed to improve the health of the people.

I would like also to associate myself with what your Chairmen have said about the loss sustained by us through the deaths of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, Grand Prior of the Order of St. John ; of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, who was Bailiff Grand Cross of the Order of St. John ; and of the Hon'ble Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Chairman of the Punjab Branch of the Red Cross and a former member of the Managing Body at headquarters.

During the past year we had the pleasure of welcoming to India His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, who is Chairman of the Council of the British Red Cross Association and Grand Prior of the Order of St. John. It was a matter of great satisfaction that he

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found time to inspect several detachments and to send a gracious message which has been an inspiration to us all ever since.

The speeches to which you have just listened have described a year of much activity and notable achievement under difficult conditions. When I first had the privilege of addressing you in 1937, I said that for a country of the size of India our organisation for the work which it is our privilege to carry on, was disproportionately small. I think we can claim with pride that the figures contained in the annual reports before you have removed any reproach which that statement implied. I would give as an example the encouraging increase in the number of first-aid certificates granted by the St. John Ambulance Association from a little over 17,000 in 1937 to 55,000 in 1942, and the increase in the membership of the Association which has taken place since the war. And, as your Chairman has mentioned, the Association, in co-operation with the Civil Defence Department, has raised and trained mobile ambulance and nursing squads, the usefulness of which has been demonstrated over and over again in the reception and care of evacuees from Burma, during enemy air-raids on Calcutta, and in the care of the sick and wounded from all theatres of war. To these and many other calls the workers of St. John have responded, often at short notice, without neglecting at the same time what may be called their normal peacetime activities.

Sir Gordon Jolly has told you that the usual work of the Indian Red Cross Society has been somewhat restricted by the necessity for concentration on objects closely connected with the war. But the 600,000 members

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Annual General Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association, the Indian Red Cross Society and the Joint War Committee on Tuesday, the 23rd March 1943.

of the Junior Red Cross show what valuable work is still being done.

During the third year of war the Joint War Committee of the Indian Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Association made what was perhaps record progress and our thanks are due to General Moberly and all those serving in India and abroad who are doing so much to fulfil a task made more difficult by rising prices and other troubles. In discharging this heavy burden the Central Joint War Organisation has received considerable assistance from the British Red Cross and we greatly appreciate their help and guidance. Our thanks are also due to all the Provincial and State Committees whose co-operation is so necessary and has been so readily given.

All of you are familiar with the main outlines of the work, most of which are described in the report. But I should like to draw your particular attention to one new development to which I attach importance—the provision of facilities for Occupational Therapy, that is to say, enjoyable and useful occupation for the wounded and convalescent in our hospitals in order to help them overcome the boredom which in many cases retards recovery, and to regain, and develop fully, the use of muscles and limbs weakened by sickness or wounds. The knowledge and skill acquired by the patients may well be of use to them when they leave hospital, while by hastening convalescence the treatment releases beds urgently required for the use of others. In India this work has hitherto been performed largely by members of the Women's Voluntary Service, to whom we owe a great debt for their co-operation. But, for the idea to receive the wide application

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that it deserves, the help of many more voluntary workers is required and I would like to appeal to all those who are able to do so to offer their services.

If I have not yet said anything about the finances of the Joint War Committee it is not because our position is easy or free from anxiety. In her broadcast to India on the eve of the Red Cross Week, my wife explained how the increase in all branches of our activity during the past year, and the prospect of still greater demands this year, have imposed an unprecedented burden on the Joint War Organisation. Excluding expenditure which State and Provincial Committees will be called upon to meet, our commitments for 1943 are expected to total $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees for which we must look in the main to the generosity of the general public, contributed either through my own War Purposes Fund or through Governors' War Funds. I have not yet heard the full results of the Red Cross Week, but the preliminary reports show that it has been a great success for not only have considerable sums of money been collected, but the efforts we are making have been brought to the notice of a wider public from which we may expect that support on which we must depend if the activities of the Red Cross and St. John are not to be curtailed.

In this connection I should like to congratulate those responsible for the advertising campaign which has been conducted during the past year and which has done so much to explain to the public what we are doing.

We met last year under circumstances very different from those which confront us today. Then the prospect of victory seemed far off. Now the outlook is brighter. But there is no reason yet for us to relax our efforts in

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His Excellency the Viceroy's Reply to the Address Presented to him by the people of the North-West Frontier Province at Peshawar on 2nd April 1943.

any way, for we must expect that during the coming year calls will be made upon our organisations which we must be ready to meet in full with unrelenting energy. I am confident that with the experience of the last three years behind us we are better prepared than ever before to meet any emergency with which we may be confronted.

This is the last annual meeting at which I shall have the pleasure of presiding. Before I close I should like to express to every one of you here, as well as to all the other thousands of members and workers of the Orders of the Red Cross and St. John, the sincere thanks of my wife and myself for the co-operation and hard work which has made your great achievement possible during the period we have been associated with you. We shall continue to watch with the same personal interest the progress of your work in war and in the new fields of activity which will be open to you in peace.

Good-bye and Good Luck to you all.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED TO HIM BY THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE AT PESHAWAR, ON 2ND APRIL, 1943.

2nd April
1943.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Reply to the Address Presented to him by the people of the North-West Frontier Province at Peshawar, on 2nd April 1943 :—

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure to me to visit the North-West Frontier Province again. I deeply appreciate the warmth of the welcome that my wife and I have received in Peshawar and the cordial terms of the address from the leading gentlemen of the Province, representatives of all districts of the

His Excellency the Viceroy's Reply to the Address Presented to him by the people of the North-West Frontier Province at Peshawar on 2nd April 1943.

Frontier, that you, Sir, have been good enough to read to me today.

The threat of war has happily not approached the North-West Frontier Province. But the importance of the Province remains as great as ever. It is still one of the great gateways to India, and Government still look to you to be their faithful gatekeepers. In these troubled and difficult times, the stability of the districts and the agencies alike—for both are equally important parts of the whole, has been to me a matter for great satisfaction. And when, last autumn, unwise leadership led so many to participate in outrages and disorders which disturbed the peace of India, and did such harm to her great name, the common-sense and the wisdom of the leaders of this Province preserved harmony and order in this most important area. I warmly congratulate you, gentlemen, on the record of the North-West Frontier Province during those anxious days.

I have watched with admiration the contribution which the North-West Frontier Province has made to the war effort. For long it has been one of the great recruiting grounds of India. That reputation has been well maintained during the war, and particularly by the districts of Hazara and Kohat. And the contribution of the Province has been not merely in terms of man power. Most generous help has been given to all good causes, loans and subscriptions for war purposes have had every assistance from the North-West Frontier Province. And in the organisation of supplies of dried fruit and meat on a very large scale, the Province has made another important contribution to the war effort.

Thank you most warmly for the kind things which you have been good enough to say about my wife and my-

His Excellency the Viceroy's Reply to the Address Presented to Him by the Orakzai Tribe at Hangu on 3rd April 1943.

self. We do deeply appreciate them, and we are only sorry to think that this is likely to be the last time that we will see the North-West Frontier Province. I would like on behalf of my wife to say how great a pleasure it was to her to visit last year the admirable tuberculosis sanatorium at Dadar, and to see the good work that is being done there in a matter of such vital importance to the health and welfare of the Province. You may be certain of the continued interest of both of us in the years to come in the happiness and the welfare of the people of the Frontier.

I thank you again sincerely for your good wishes and for your welcome. I look forward greatly to my tours in the Province during the next few days and to renewing old contacts and meeting old friends again.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED TO HIM BY THE ORAKZAI TRIBE AT HANGU ON 3RD APRIL 1943.

3rd April
1943.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Reply to the Address Presented to Him by the Orakzai Tribe at Hangu on 3rd April 1943.

It gives me great pleasure to meet the representatives of the whole Orakzai tribe today. My pleasure is increased by the fact that, although the Orakzai are one of the leading tribes of the North-West Frontier, I believe that this is the first time that a Viceroy has met their Jirga. When I see this gathering, I realise well what a powerful element the Orakzai Jirga is in tribal affairs, and I am glad to have the assurance of your continued loyalty and friendship to Government. I have learnt from my Political Officers of your good behaviour extending over many years, and the peaceful conditions on this part of

His Excellency the Viceroy's Reply to the Address Presented to Him by the Orakzai Tribe at Hangu on 3rd April 1943.

the Frontier have been a matter of great satisfaction to me.

It is a matter of peculiar satisfaction to me, and I am sure to you, both elders and young men, to remember how long and how intimately Sir George Cunningham has been associated with your tribe from the days of his early service. Personal relations such as those are a source of inspiration to us when we turn aside for a moment to reflect on what they mean, and I know how greatly they are valued by all Pathans, and by Orakzais in particular.

I wish in particular to congratulate you today on your record of recruitment, both for the Army and for the Civil Armed Forces. I thank you for what you have done, and am certain that if Government require it, you will do more. The Orakzai have a long tradition of good service, and I know in particular of the excellent work which your tribesmen, both Sunni and Shia, have done in the North and South Waziristan Scouts and the Frontier Constabulary.

For the time being, our one great object must be to defeat Nazism and the Japanese. They are the enemy of Islam, as they are the enemy of all civilisation and of all religions. No sacrifice can be too great to ensure their defeat. There is much hard fighting to be done before victory is won, and much to be endured. I look to you to help Government in the best way you can at this time of need by giving your young men to fight and by keeping peace in your own country.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS PRESENTED TO HIM BY THE KURRAM JIRGA AT PARACHINAR ON 4TH APRIL 1943.

14 April
1943.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Reply to the Address Presented to Him by the Kurram Jirga at Parachinar on 4th April 1943.

It is a great pleasure to me to visit your beautiful valley and to meet the full Jirga of all the Kurram tribes this afternoon.

The history of the Turis of the Kurram Valley has always been one of friendship with the British Government. Since the days of our earliest occupation of the Valley you have trusted Government and Government have trusted you. This mutual confidence has been greatly to the advantage of us both, and I pray that it may long continue.

Your record of military service to Government is also well known to me and, though the first duty of your young men is to serve in the Militia and guard this part of the Frontier, I hope that they will also continue to serve further afield, both in the Regular Army and other Services outside the Valley. This will be to your advantage just as much as to that of Government.

I am indeed glad to learn that your agriculture and general economic condition are so satisfactory. Government have taken pains to assist you by creating an Agricultural Department in your Valley. It is for you to derive the full benefit from that Department by studying and adapting the lessons they have learnt by their experiments.

His Excellency the Governor has informed me that you have made petitions to him that your land revenue should not be raised in the settlement which is now proceeding. I have considered these petitions carefully. As you know a revenue settlement is not designed only for

His Excellency the Viceroy's Reply to the Address from the Wazir and Daur Maliks of North Waziristan at Miranshah, on 6th April 1943.

enhancement of Government dues, but mainly to define rights in land and to prevent disputes. Until the report of the Settlement Officer is received, I cannot give any definite opinion. Indeed it may be for my successor and not for me to pass final orders. But I think I can give you an assurance that Government will always pay regard to the special conditions of the Kurram and the fact that you are loyal and helpful to Government, and will not desire to make any big increase in your total land revenue.

I thank you warmly for your assurances of loyalty. Like you I look forward with confidence to the ruin of the Axis Powers. The Nazi threat is indeed a threat to Islam, as it is to Christianity and all other religions and to all the basic principles of humanity. There is still hard fighting before us, and much to be endured before the final victory to which we all look forward. But victory shall be ours.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE WAZIR AND DAUR MALIKS OF NORTH WAZIRISTAN AT MIRANSHAH, ON 6TH APRIL 1943.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Reply to the Address from the Wazir and Daur Maliks of North Waziristan at Miranshah, on 6th April 1943.

I am very pleased to meet the leaders of all the North Waziristan tribes today, and to receive from their lips assurances of their desire to remain at peace and in friendship with Government. I also greatly value your prayers for the success of the British and their Allies in the War.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Broadcast to India on Thursday, the 13th May 1943, on the Allied Victory in North Africa.

As you have said, Waziristan has not been without its troubles during my Viceroyalty, and it has been a matter of regret to me to have had, at various times, to sanction punitive measures. Indeed Waziristan is the only part of the North-West Frontier which has caused me any anxiety during the war, and I must remind you that the basic cause of trouble is still in your midst. I feel confident that you, the leading Malikhs of your tribes, have power, if you desire to exert it, to restore complete peace in your country ; and you can be sure that the policy of Government will always be, as it has been in the past, to be friendly with the tribes that show friendship to Government. One proof of their friendship is afforded by the generous gift of Rs. 25,000 for the Red Cross and wounded of this war for which I am most grateful.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S BROADCAST TO
INDIA ON THURSDAY, THE 13TH MAY 1943, ON THE
ALLIED VICTORY IN NORTH AFRICA.**

13th May
1943.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Broadcast to India on Thursday, the 13th May 1943, on the Allied Victory in North Africa :—

The labour and the sweat and the sacrifices of nearly four years of campaigning in North Africa have now been crowned with magnificent and final victory. The African continent has been cleansed, and great forces of the enemy have been captured or utterly destroyed. That great strategic highway, the Mediterranean, has been opened and along the length of its southern littoral stand division upon division of French, American, British, Dominion and Indian troops, all flushed with victory, all brothers in arms, whose mutual confidence has been tried in the test of battle, all eager for the next move forward and filled with an implacable resolve to destroy root and

His Excellency the Viceroy's Broadcast to India on Thursday, the 13th May 1943, on the Allied Victory in North Africa.

branch the foul growth of Nazism that has cast its deadly shade over the length and breadth of continental Europe. These troops have seen the superb performances of our air forces over Africa and they rightly believe that in the great battles to come they will have air support of a quality and strength that the Axis cannot hope to equal. They have witnessed in the Mediterranean the matchless skill and gallantry of our navies and mercantile marine, and they know their people at home in many parts of the world are praying for their success and safety, longing for an early end to this world crusade, but ready to endure privation and hardship for months and indeed for years if necessary, till the victory is complete and our troops are in Berlin itself.

This great deed of arms in North Africa clearly marks the end of a stage in the war and my colleagues and I think it is right that we in India should celebrate our success. There will therefore be a public holiday on Friday, May 21st, when Tunisia Day will be celebrated and I hope there will be public rejoicings throughout India on that day.

We shall then pay tribute, richly deserved as it is, to the heroes of the Tunisian campaign, not only to British and Indian troops but to our gallant American companions in arms, to the renascent might of France, and to the splendid formations from the Dominions. We shall rejoice that our famous 4th Indian Division was in at the kill. But there are many troops not now in Tunisia who won fame in Africa in 1940, 1941 and 1942, and it would be base ingratitude to forget the part that Indian troops played in Field Marshal Wavell's great campaigns and in General Auchinleck's splendid last stand that saved Egypt. It has been the joint endeavour of all troops engaged since the beginning of the African cam-

His Excellency the Viceroy's Broadcast to India on Thursday, the 13th May 1943, on the Allied Victory in North Africa.

paign that has made possible the final victory which we are now to celebrate.

Again the fighting forces would be the last to claim that the credit for victory is theirs alone. We have been through great stress in India, we have had to resist civil commotion, and only a year ago we had to face the possibility of invasion both from the east and from the west; indeed the most direct and immediate benefit to India from the African victory is the removal of a deadly threat to her own western approaches. We have had great anxieties over our food supplies—and in spite of all our difficulties it has been essential that our war effort should go on and increase. There are tens of thousands of men and women, police, railway staffs, civic guards, factory hands, doctors, nurses, engineers and countless others to whom is due their share of each victory we win. India has been a vast base for our African operations, a base from which essential supplies in huge quantities have been sent first to buttress our defence and then to crush and overwhelm the enemy. I hope the National War Front which represents the citizen's will to win this war will in its celebrations stress the civilian share in the victory and also rebuke those few who are absorbed at present in purely selfish schemes of profiteering.

But self-congratulation in the middle of a war is a dangerous indulgence and I want to warn you tonight against the slightest tendency to believe that the end is in sight. Germany is still a tremendously powerful nation and may yet be able not only to deal heavy blows against our supremely gallant allies, the Russians, but also to offer strong resistance to any invading armies in the west. And after our foot has been planted firmly on the Nazi's neck and his overweening pride is humbled in the dust, we have still to destroy the menace of Japan. The

His Excellency the Viceroy's Broadcast to India on Thursday, the 13th May 1943, on the Allied Victory in North Africa.

Japanese are in essentials a barbarous mediæval race with no true culture and certainly no instincts of mercy. They are fanatical and dedicated to what they are pleased to believe is a national mission. They have captured valuable territories and bases and have had time to consolidate them. The force that we shall in due course bring against them will certainly overwhelm them but quick results, I warn you plainly, will not be possible.

I have just returned from a visit to our troops on the eastern frontier who have had to work hard and suffer many hardships to make India safe from invasion. They are in splendid heart and a great deal has been achieved in that area, but no one makes the mistake of underestimating the Jap as an enemy. Defeat him utterly we will. The Americans, the Chinese and we ourselves have made up our minds about that, and indeed self-preservation demands it. If there are too poisonous snakes in your room and you go to great trouble to kill one it is hardly commonsense to relax before the other reptile is destroyed. The Jap stands for the same thing as the German. Though we beat the German into the dust, a war that fails to mete out to Japan the punishment she richly deserves will be fought in vain, and a peace that left in Japanese hands one square mile of stolen territory would be fatal to the future of human happiness and human freedom not only in the east but over the whole expanse of the world.

Forgive me then if I remind you in this hour of triumph, which we do well to celebrate, that final victory is not yet and that we must derive from our rejoicings not a spurious confidence that the war is won, but fresh strength to go forward and win it.

Good Night : and to all our United Nations' forces by sea, land and air, I say " good hunting "

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS TO THE
COMBINED LEGISLATURES ON MONDAY, THE 2ND
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1943.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Address to the Combined
Legislatures on Monday, the 2nd August 1943 :—

Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure to me to meet you again today, though I am sorry that it should be for the last time. You and I have been through difficult times together and I shall always remember with gratitude the help and consideration that, through 7½ years of my Viceroyalty, I have had from the Central Legislature ; and the guidance that its members have given me on so many critical issues. It is a happiness for me to think that if we have been through bad days together in the earlier years of the war, I should be leaving India at a time when the skies are beginning to brighten ; when the success of the Allied arms in so many fields is becoming increasingly manifest ; and when we are encouraged by the fall of one of the greatest of the Axis leaders, and by the collapse of a system which was responsible for bringing Italy into the war against us.

The seven and a half years of my Viceroyalty have lain in momentous times. Through the whole period we have been faced by political issues of the first importance. For the last four years there has been the dominating need to concentrate, on India's defence against hostile attack ; on the expansion and the training of our armed forces, whether Naval, Military or Air ; on the organising of our war effort in terms of men, of money and of supplies. India's response to every call made upon her throughout the war has been magnificent. She may well be proud of the superb contribution that she has made to the victories of the Allies, and to the triumph of the United Nations.

Gentlemen, I do not propose today to weary you with any length or detailed review of the great developmen's

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that have taken place in India in so many fields since I assumed office. The tale would be a very long one. Rather would I propose to speak of India's war effort, to touch very briefly on certain major problems which are of immediate concern to all of us today, and in particular food, inflation, post-war planning; to say a word about the political situation, and in taking leave of you to thank you, and through you India, for consistent, ungrudging and invaluable support through so many dark days and so many critical situations.

When the war began India's armed forces were designed neither in numbers nor in equipment to bear the direct shock of attack of the large, highly trained and well-equipped forces at the disposal of the Axis powers. But, with the full knowledge that the safety of India lay in the defence of its outer bastions, we sent overseas what troops we could spare. Experience has more than justified our decision. Today we can feel that, save for sporadic and ineffective air raids, India has been spared the horrors of war as, God willing, she will continue so to be.

Our armed forces today total two million men. Naval personnel has increased tenfold. The Indian Air Force is expanding rapidly into a formidable weapon. That great total has been reached by voluntary recruitment, recruitment, too, from a wider variety of sources than ever before. The equipment and the training of these large masses of men has been an immense task, all the more so given the need to keep pace with new arms and new methods; to create new formations—I need only mention the Indian Armoured Corps, the Corps of Indian Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, the Indian Army Medical Corps;—to bring into being the formations of airborne troops, and of airborne surgical units, which have been so successfully developed in this country. In

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the air the Indian Air Force has expanded from the single squadron that was all its strength when I first came to India to ten Indian squadrons, fully equipped with modern aircraft. The essential, but highly complex ground organisation required by a national air force to provide its own maintenance and training units is rapidly being perfected. Its pilots have done admirable work in Europe: the Indian Squadron which took part in the Burma campaign has rightly won the highest praise. And the work of expansion and development goes on apace.

The Indian Navy has steadily grown through the whole of this period. There have been great and rapid increases in personnel, in ship construction, in shore establishments, in the development of specialist schools, and of specialist training. And recruitment has been extended to areas that never in the past sent men to serve at sea. The actions fought against Japanese aircraft by the "Sutlej" and the "Jumna"; the superb fight of the "Bengal" against surface raiders, have shown the fighting quality of the Royal Indian Navy. And our ships have been in action not only in Indian waters, but in the Red Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic, and, in the last few days, in the invasion of Sicily.

The fighting record of the Indian Army is known to you all. Indian troops played a glorious part in the North and East African campaigns. Their superb fighting qualities, their courage, determination, discipline and training have been demonstrated time and again in the campaigns that have resulted in the overthrow of the Italian empire in Africa. The great victory of the 8th Army, in which the 4th Indian Division added still further honours to what was already an imperishable fame, is in the minds of all of us. In the Far East, in Burma, and in Singapore our troops faced, like their comrades from

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the other parts of the British Commonwealth, superior forces ; and they fought a series of delaying actions in a type of warfare that makes the highest demand on the quality of troops. Those actions, fought with stubborn courage against grievous odds, gave India time to perfect her own defences against invasion. And the experience gained in the difficult and exhausting jungle warfare in which we have recently been engaged will be put to good use when the time comes for that full dress attack upon the Japanese to which we all look forward. The exploits of Brigadier Wingate's mixed force of Indian, British, Gurkha, and Burmese troops, have struck the imagination of the world, and have shown what good soldiering, discipline, and brotherhood in arms can achieve under conditions peculiarly favourable to the enemy.

The picture I have painted is but a pale reflection of the faith, the courage and the endurance of tens of thousands of humble men ; courage that has won for the Indian Army no less than six awards of the Victoria Cross. No words of mine can express our thanks to them for what they have achieved, to the Princes and people of India, who have poured out their treasures of money and labour and of precious lives in the allied cause. But this I know,—whatever may be the tasks which lie ahead ; however long and arduous the road we still have to traverse, that faith, that courage, that sacrifice will lead to victory.

Since I last addressed you, Gentlemen, the relations of my Government with the foreign States on India's frontiers have, I am glad to say, remained cordial. Indian troops have served with distinction in Persia. The Government of Afghanistan have well upheld their policy of neutrality as against all belligerents and have not suffered the Axis influences due to the presence of enemy Legislation in their capital to disturb the common peace

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of the Indo-Afghan frontier. The tribes of the North-West Frontier have throughout the war maintained the peace, and I was glad on my recent visit to that famous region to be able to recognise their service to the common end by a permanent enhancement of the allowances of one of the leading tribes, the Orakzais. Of the unstinted help which the cause of the United Nations as a whole and India in particular has received from our well-tried and trusted friends, the Prime Minister and the Government of Nepal, I cannot speak in terms of too high gratitude. The Gurkha soldiers of the Indian Army continue to maintain the highest traditions of their service. Their bravery and hardihood have contributed in no small degree to the security of India throughout the war, and I need not remind you that the Nepalese Government's own regiments remain in India for the war to assist us in building up our common strength. The relations of India with our great Ally, the Republic of China, have been drawn closer than ever before in history. The mutual esteem and knowledge won during the visit of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai Shek in February 1942 has broadened to an understanding which bodes well for the future relations of our countries. The presence, which we have so warmly welcomed, of American and Chinese Missions in our midst; the comradeship in the common task and on our own soil with the gallant forces of our American and Chinese allies all contribute most materially to cordial relations and international good fellowship.

Recent legislation in South Africa affecting the status of Indians in that country has been a matter of profound regret to my Government, and the situation which results from it is under active consideration.

Many of the essential nation-building activities are, under the present constitution, the responsibility primarily

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or wholly of the Provinces. But I have been anxious during the time I have spent here, to ensure that the Centre should give every help that it properly can in regard to them, and there is much to show in the way of achievement. The revival of the Central Advisory Board of Education ; the establishment of the Central Board of Health ; the lavish grant made before the war from central revenues for Rural Development ; the work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, the establishment of which, as I am proud to recall, was recommended by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, over which I had the honour to preside, and which has proved itself so elastic and effective an instrument for promoting technical progress ; the institution of the All-India Cattle Show Society, which has done so much to encourage the most important matter of care and breeding of cattle throughout the country ; the active prosecution of nutritional research ; the great campaign against tuberculosis, organised by my wife, which has had so striking a response from all over India--these are all examples of the numerous activities in the nation-building field which have been of concern to my Government and to myself during the time that I have been here. India has reason, too, to be proud of the work that has been done in Animal Husbandry, in Dairy Research, by the Agricultural Marketing Department, by the Forest Service, and by the Survey of India. The war inevitably has interfered with certain of our plans for the development of many of these most important activities. But the war has also shown their vital significance, and we have good reason to be thankful that so much had been done in the way of preparation before hostilities began.

I may be forgiven for touching on one matter which, though it is of immediate local interest to the Central Legislature, is of concern to the country as a whole. When

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I assumed office in 1936 I determined that during my tenure of the Viceroyalty I would do everything in my power to make Delhi worthy of its place as the capital city of India. Today, I am glad to think that that ambition has been so largely realised. Delhi is a model so far as the anti-malaria campaign, up-to-date arrangements for the disposal of sewage, the active work of an energetic and soundly-based Improvement Trust, the development of open spaces and of amenities, are concerned. Those amenities and the layout of the capital city have inevitably suffered owing to war conditions. But it is the policy of my Government, on the conclusion of the war, to remove without delay the temporary buildings that war has rendered necessary, and to restore the appearance of the Capital of India to the high level which we had been able to achieve for it.

I would like to say one word about the transport situation, and the position of the Railways in particular. The vital importance of an efficient and adequate transport system, both for the war effort and for the maintenance of civil life, has been brought very sharply home to us in these last few years. The Railways are working under very great strain. Great strain because of shortage of certain materials in wartime ; because of the immense burdens placed on the staff by war conditions. We owe a real debt to the Railway staff for the contribution they have made, and the excellent work they have done in circumstances sometimes of much difficulty. My Government are fully alive to the importance of co-ordinating transport by road, rail, and river, and no pains are being spared to turn to the best use possible any additional capacity that can be made available, and to strike a just balance between military and essential civil needs.

Activities in the field of war supplies have expanded enormously since I last addressed you. The value of

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orders handled by the Supply Department increased steadily from 85 crores in the first 16 months of the war, to 118 crores in 1941, 223 crores in 1942 and to 142 crores for the first five months of the present year. Nor is this the whole tale of India's effort in the field of supply. For the figures which I have given take no account of the orders which the Supply Department placed overseas, the orders placed in India for war purposes through trade channels, or the value of the finished output of the Ordnance Factories. The total value of India's contribution to war supplies is thereby immeasurably increased.

In order to deal with this growing mass of war orders the capacity of Indian industry has been greatly expanded both by the carrying of carefully considered Government schemes for the establishment of new factories or the expansion of existing ones, and by the operation of private enterprise. In particular the Chatfield and Ministry of Supply Mission Projects for new Ordnance Factories and expansion of the old ones are now either completed or nearly complete. I may also mention the great expansions in the steel industry, in the manufacture of machine tools, in the chemical industry, and in the capacity of the rubber manufacturing industry, especially for making tyres.

Those results have not been easy to achieve in the face of the difficulties, known to all of you, which arose and still arise from the growing claims on the shipping resources of the Allies, from the closure of certain sources of raw material by the tide of Japanese aggression; and from the pressure on India's internal transport system arising from the greatly increased burden of war production and military movements. In solving these difficulties, and in maintaining its war effort despite them, India has received and is receiving the greatest help from the

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other allied nations, especially from His Majesty's Government and from the United States of America. The Technical Mission which our American Allies sent us last year, and the Lease|Lend Mission now with us, have been of the greatest assistance to us. We have lately had a Joint Anglo-American Steel Mission which gave valuable advice and help in connection with the production and distribution of steel. And I must pay a cordial tribute to the admirable work of the Eastern Group Supply Council, itself the outcome of the Eastern Group Conference for the initiation of which India was so largely responsible, and which did such invaluable work.

This vast expansion in the field of war production has not been achieved without material sacrifice of the goods ordinarily available to the agriculturist and the townsman. I will refer later to certain aspects of that problem. But I am glad to think that many of the industries engaged in the manufacture of vital war supplies are now better equipped to produce goods for ordinary internal consumption than they were before ; the experience gained in manufacture under the stress of war adds materially to our knowledge of modern skill and technique ; and we are extracting and putting to use in India more and more of our own raw materials. Over and above this, realising the importance of providing for essential civil needs, we are now endeavouring to release for civil consumption a larger share of the industrial output of our own resources. The steps we have already taken in this direction will be steadily pursued, consistently with our responsibility for supplying the Armed Forces in India.

For the present, and for some time to come, our energies must be devoted to exploiting all available resources for the waging of war. But a moment will arrive when this process must be reversed and our efforts

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directed again towards the normal activities of peace, and the use and development of those resources for the rehabilitation of our economy, and the maintenance and—wherever possible—the improvement of the standards of living of our people.

Post-war reconstruction is a phrase familiar today in every continent. But the nature of this reconstruction must depend upon local conditions and the vicissitudes of battle.

In some countries the rebuilding of the bomb-shattered homes of the people, and of the factories in which they earn their livelihood, must be the first stage of recovery. Then again a nation the greater part of whose adult population of both sexes has been conscripted into the fighting services, or war industry, has to face problems vastly different, at least in degree, from those which confront us here in India where, despite the magnitude of our war effort, large sections of the population still pursue their customary avocations more or less undisturbed by the tides of war, save in so far as changes in the price level may have affected their lot for better or for worse. Our own problems in this field, vital though they are, are of a different order. War has brought to India a marked and significant increase in industrial activity, and an even more important increment in the number of persons skilled in mechanical and industrial work of all kinds. Evidently the problem is to carry forward after the war as much as we may of this enhanced industrial activity, transmuted betimes from its present warlike shape into forms capable of producing the needs of a world at peace. Certain of our industries, some of them highly important, have come through the past four years with few changes of a technical character, and for such the problems to be solved will be mainly of a commercial character.

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Closely linked with industrial expansion are the problems of agricultural improvement. The best hope of permanent progress, whether in town or countryside, lies in the maintenance of a sound balance between field and factory. For the farmer, a steady and profitable market for his own produce and the opportunity to buy the products of the factory at reasonable prices : for the factory, a copious supply of raw material and a vast market for the finished product. The careful fostering of this natural, healthy and resilient partnership which is the foundation of our economic strength, and the firm base or platform from which we may develop our overseas trade, must be the first care of governments and of all concerned with industry or with agriculture. Agriculture, including agricultural education and research, and animal husbandry, is as I have already reminded you, a provincial subject. So also is irrigation. But in so far as it lies within the power and within the proper field of my Government to contribute towards agricultural improvement, they are most anxious to do their utmost in that direction.

The desire for improvement, agricultural and industrial, has evidently received a marked stimulus from the circumstances of war. This manifestation will certainly derive a fresh and powerful impulse by the demobilisation in due time of the great armies upon whose valour India at present depends for her security. Many of our soldiers have become mechanically-minded as a result of their training and some may well look to industry for a livelihood in the days of peace. But the greater number will wish to return to the land. Many of those men have seen the world beyond these shores. They will wish to enjoy the best that the business of farming can provide, and they will be found receptive of new ideas and improved practices. Their return to their villages offers a unique

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opportunity to press forward with agricultural improvement and rural betterment. These two purposes are bound indissolubly together. "Of all the factors making for prosperous agriculture, by far the most important is the outlook of the peasant himself." So wrote the Agricultural Commission in 1928, and all that I have seen or learned since that time confirms the correctness of that opinion.

My Government are fully alive to the urgency and the vital importance of these issues. For some considerable time past they have been closely concerned with the essential business of post-war planning. They realise the necessity of being well prepared in advance for the questions that will face India, like the rest of the world, on the termination of hostilities. You may be certain, Gentlemen, that they will spare no effort to clear the ground and to plan wisely for the future, and that their deliberations will be informed by the anxious desire to assist in all those matters to which I have just referred, even where the function is not primarily theirs.

The war has brought great industrial and commercial prosperity to India. But it has laid grievous burdens on the common man and woman in this country in the procurement of their daily needs. And the disabilities which war must bring to the civil population of any belligerent country have in India been greatly accentuated by the anti-social activities of individuals who have misused conditions of scarcity, artificially created in the case of some commodities, for their own profit. During the last few months, second only to the problem of how to feed the inhabitant of this country has come the problem of how to clothe him at a cost within his means. It was therefore to the problem of cloth that the Department of Industries and Civil Supplies, which I constituted in April

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last, first devoted its attention. Thanks to public support, thanks also to the co-operation of the Indian Cotton Textile industry, a scheme of control was launched on the 17th June which is being worked by Government and the industry in a friendly spirit. The Indian States are also in line with us, and I welcome this opportunity of acknowledging their co-operation. The prices of cloth of all kinds have fallen, not only in the wholesale, but also in the retail markets. In some of the retail markets they have fallen by more than 40 per cent. Cloth which has been hoarded is coming into the market ; and under the new scheme for Standard or Utility cloth my Government have arranged the procurement of this at the rate of 150 million yards per month, to be distributed, on a basis of population, among all the Provinces and States of India till a total of 2,000 million yards has been reached. It is hoped that cloth now coming out of hoards, and Standard Cloth, will fill the breach while the Control gradually establishes itself over the whole field of Cotton Textiles with, as a result, increased production and a substantial reduction in prices below present levels. When that stage is reached it will not be necessary to continue the Standard Cloth scheme.

But cloth is not the only commodity in regard to which advantage has been taken—and unmercifully taken—of the consumer in India by unscrupulous men. Over practically the whole range of consumers' goods, which are so necessary in the day-to-day life of the people, the two-fold blight of exorbitant prices and inequitable distribution has fallen. Measures are now well under way which will I hope, before many months have passed, bring about improvement in this respect. These measures are aimed not only at hitting the hoarder and the profiteer, but also at making consumers' goods of the commoner

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varieties available in greater quantities to the people of this country.

Probably the most grave and insistent problem which faces my Government today is that of ensuring an adequate distribution of foodstuffs throughout India. Early in July a Conference fully representative of the Provinces and the Indian States, discussed in close detail with my Government the difficulties of the past and plans for the immediate future. My Government have accepted the conclusions of the Conference, and they are being implemented. As I speak, an expert planning committee is at work on the evolution of a long term food policy, and its Report is expected in the immediate future. I cannot anticipate its recommendations. Nor do I wish to dwell overmuch on the past. But I would like briefly to recall to you some of the difficulties which have had to be faced during the past four years and to state in broad outline the essentials, as I see them, for the success of any future policy.

Certain limiting factors have to be recognised, even in normal times, when considering the economy of food production and distribution in India. The size of the country, with its demands on transport ; a total production of foodgrains only just sufficient in wheat and less than sufficient in rice, made up of the small margins of millions of small farmers ; the variety and at the same time the rigidity of local diet habits ; the administrative divisions throughout the country. In normal times, these factors do not give rise to any great difficulty, for the normal operations of trade can ordinarily be relied upon to satisfy all requirements and to come effectively to the rescue, without official intervention, if for any reason local scarcity should occur. But war throws normal trade movements out of gear. Imports are restricted or cut off ; transport is limited ; there is a bullish tendency in the

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markets ; prices rise and profits are high ; the producer or distributor hoards for gain or consumes more of his produce ; the consumer hoards from fear.

In such circumstances it is the duty of Government to step in and regulate the operations of trade so as to secure economy and fair distribution. In the United Kingdom great success has been achieved by drastic measures involving legal sanctions and the most detailed interference with private lives and private enterprise, but made effective largely by the willing co-operation of the people. In India our problem has been less compact and uniform, and control in consequence more difficult to impose. The series of Price Control Conferences instituted as soon as war broke out proved most valuable for the exchange of ideas and experience, and made recommendations which were acted on by Government. But you will recall that for the first two years of the war there was no great demand for control. A moderate rise in prices after a lean period was welcomed. It is only since the entry of Japan into the war, and the loss of imports from Malaya and Burma, that the problem of supplies and prices has assumed serious proportions in India. Since then Governments throughout the country have had to adapt their methods to a rapidly developing situation, and to counter the cupidity and lack of confidence that have unhappily shown themselves in so many areas.

The Grow More Food campaign has led to an immense increase in the area under food crops, and a vastly-increased production of foodgrains. It is being urged on with the utmost vigour. Financial aid of well over a crore and a half of rupees has been made available from central revenues, and every possible help has been given to Provincial Governments and to the Indian States by way of technical advice. You may be certain, Gentlemen,

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that no pains are being, or will be, spared to get the very maximum of output that we possibly can.

To strike at the root of the causes of our difficulties which I have just mentioned my Government decided, early in this year, to remove the control price of wheat, and to import wheat from Australia. They also devised a scheme for the distribution under central control of surplus foodgrains to deficit areas. For various reasons this scheme appeared likely, at first, to fall short of the success that was hoped for. But, drastically modified in the light of experience, it remains in being. And it will hold the field as an "austerity" plan, until, having secured physical control of all available surpluses of foodgrains, administrations throughout India are in a position to control their distribution, through rationing or otherwise.

That task is no light one. But it is vital that it should be successfully performed. And full and willing co-operation by every Government and every individual is essential if its achievement is to be ensured.

The policy behind it will be a policy based on the considered views of representatives of every part of India, and I would most earnestly appeal today to all concerned to help in giving effect to it. To the solution of the common problem, to the easing of the hardships of the poor, and the difficulties of the deficit areas in particular, there is an obligation on every one of us to lend our influence, our example, and our ready support. I am confident that in appealing for that general co-operation, and for the spirit of self-sacrifice, in a matter that touches every man and woman in this country, I shall not do so in vain.

One of the main problems which has to be faced by a country at war is the control of inflationary tendencies. In the switch over from a peace economy to a war economy the mounting scale of Government expenditure inevitably increases the volume of incomes, while the goods and

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services available for civilian consumption inevitably contract. To accentuate the resultant loss of equilibrium between free purchasing power and the opportunities for its use, the possibilities of import become gravely restricted by the scarcity of shipping and reduced transport facilities. In any country a situation of this kind calls for the maximum effort of vigilance and control, if chaos is to be avoided. In India there are various factors, notably the magnitude of the country and the exiguous scale of administrative services in relation to a huge and largely uninstructed population, which render close controls peculiarly difficult. The position first began to deteriorate sharply when the consequences of the war with Japan became palpable, in the latter half of 1942. By the spring of this year there were many signs of widespread hoarding and profiteering and of the emergence of a spirit of reckless speculation which gave a vicious stimulus to the factors making for a general rise in prices. The course of prices in consequence took an alarming upward turn, and it became clear that drastic action was called for and in every sphere of Government authority if this disastrous tendency was to be checked and reversed.

The Government of India are determined to do everything in their power to achieve this object and to stabilise economic conditions at tolerable levels. The drive against inflation is being pursued simultaneously in the monetary and the commodity fields. On the one hand an intensive effort is being directed to the mopping up of surplus purchasing power by taxation and borrowing, whether Central or Provincial, including a country-wide savings drive, and the Indian States have also been urged to co-operate in this programme for the benefit of the whole country. I am glad in that connection to be able to tell you, Gentlemen, that during the six weeks ending on 17th

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July, no less than 50 crores of rupees were invested, including $12\frac{1}{2}$ crores by conversion from the 4 per cent. 1943 bonds—a most encouraging and heartening achievement. On the other hand, various forms of commodity control have been adopted, the most important, because of its effect on the cost of living, being the cloth and yarn control scheme to which I have already referred.

I have already spoken too of our efforts to deal with the various aspects of the food problem, which of course has an enormously important bearing on the tendencies we are determined to bring under control. The Government of India are also resolved to check speculation and profiteering in every sphere which affects the life of the nation, and to repress and penalize all cognate anti-social activity. I am glad to say that the measures already taken are beginning to have a most salutary effect. Not only has the vicious upward trend been checked, but several important indices have moved sharply downwards, with a beneficial effect on the whole price-structure. But there is no room for complacency, and we do not delude ourselves that this battle is over. On the contrary the campaign has only begun and we are determined to maintain the pressure and to fight relentlessly on every part of the anti-inflationary front. The stake is nothing less than the economic safety of the country ; it demands the co-operation of all of us, and no effort can be relaxed until this insidious danger has been removed.

It is perhaps unnecessary for me to enlarge on the more obvious aspects of the impact of the war upon India's economy. The imperious needs of the emergency have, as might be expected, called forth a tremendous intensification and diversification of India's industrial activity. This has involved the fullest use of our resources

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of raw materials, labour, transport and productive capacity. It has led to many efforts in fields hitherto hardly explored and to expanding schemes for the training of personnel. All this would in itself have produced a notable transformation of India's economic outlook. But there has in addition supervened a factor which in my opinion is bound to have the greatest significance for India's economic future. It is by now a familiar fact that the war has led not only to the extinction of India's external public debt but to a change in her international position from a debtor to a creditor status. This fact is bound to have a profound influence on the course and character of India's international trade in future. I would suggest that this is a subject which might well engage the careful attention and study of Indian economists and research workers. For I am convinced that it is a sphere in which there cannot fail to be scope for constructive thinking. It is not merely the outward aspect of our foreign trade which must inevitably be transformed, but I would anticipate the most far-reaching effects upon the structure of India's whole economy. When it is remembered that India's export trade in the past rested largely upon the necessity of making remittances for the service of her overseas debt, that henceforth not only will this factor be absent but on the contrary India will have to accommodate an excess of imports in order to receive the payments due to her, it will be realised that the change which has occurred is one of the deepest significance.

I turn now to the political field. As Chairman of the Joint Parliamentary Committee I had been most closely associated with the discussions leading up to the Act of 1935. I came out here in 1936 following on the passing of that Act. My object, when I accepted this great responsibility, was in the first place to see Provincial Autonomy introduced, and to give it every help in my

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power to work smoothly and successfully. In the second place, to secure the introduction of Federation. I was confident that in no way could the interests of India's constitutional development or the achievement of all her aspirations better be forwarded than by these two successive stages that were contemplated in the constitution Act of 1935. Nothing has happened since 1935 to shake me in that view.

* The scheme of Provincial Autonomy has been tested by experience now over many years. It is a workable scheme and a sound scheme. Today it is in operation in six Provinces out of eleven. Where it is not in operation, that is because those to whom it gave great power, great authority and real responsibility have not been willing to carry that responsibility. That there may be difficulties from time to time, that the machine may fail under certain stresses can surprise no one with experience of public life. But taking it all in all, the scheme has fully justified itself. I can think of no way in which, consistently with safeguarding the rights and the legitimate claims of all parties, the devolution of power to popularly elected Ministers, supported by a majority in the Legislature and willing to carry the burdens of the time, could better have been.

At the Centre, as I have often said in recent years, I have felt with increasing force as the war has gone on, that the federal scheme, for all the imperfections that it may have contained, would have solved the bulk of India's problems had it been possible to bring it into being. No scheme is perfect: no scheme will satisfy everyone; every scheme admits of being improved on by experience. And I know well that on various grounds the federal scheme has been the target of attacks. But, as in the case of the provincial scheme, I have no doubt as to its essential soundness. Parties, interests, individuals, all have to be

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prepared to make some sacrifice when it comes to matters such as this. No one in any modern State can hope to have a hundred per cent. of what he wants or what he thinks he ought to have. Compromise, adjustment, reasonable regard for the legitimate claims of other parties, is the only basis on which progress can be made. Federation, had we achieved it, based as it was on the maximum measures of agreement that could be realised when the scheme was framed, would have welded together for matters of common interest the Indian States and British India. It would have secured balanced and reasonable representation of parties and interests at the Centre. It would have achieved the desire of His Majesty's Government to transfer to Indian hands those great powers at the Centre the transfer of which is provided for in the Act of 1935. And India would have participated in the War under the leadership of her own Federal Government, and her prestige and the prestige of that Government would thereby have been enhanced still further for the future.

Well, Gentlemen, the outbreak of the war and the absence of agreement between those concerned in India, made the postponement of Federation at that time inevitable. His Majesty's Government in those circumstances could not, in that way, give the early effect that they desired to their intentions. It was my duty and my happiness in those circumstances to try to find in what other way Indian public opinion, Indian public men, the great parties, could, pending the achievement of a final solution, best and most closely be associated with the government of the country and the management of the war.

If I have not been able to achieve the measure of success I hope for, I have at any rate during the time of the war been able to bring into being changes of great significance and far-reaching importance. It is true that I

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have not been able to persuade the great political parties to take their share in the government of the country. But the Government of India, a body of 7, of whom the majority were officials, has been expanded into a body of 14, 11 of whom are non-officials, and four only (including the Commander-in-Chief) Europeans. Of its broad basis, of the representation it gives to communities and interests, of the quality of its Members, there can be no question whatever. The National Defence Council, a body representative of the Indian States and of British India, has met regularly under my chairmanship since October 1941. It has established its reputation throughout India ; it has constituted a most valuable liaison between the Centre, the Provinces of British India and the Indian States, and its importance from the point of view of the war effort has been very real indeed.

In other fields India's international status has been enhanced in a variety of ways. She is represented at Washington and at Chungking. China and the President of the U.S.A. are represented here. For over a year now she has had representation at the War Cabinet. She has been most closely associated with all developments of importance in connection with the war. The splendid work of her fighting men, whether by sea, by land or in the air, has added to her renown throughout the world ; the magnitude of her contribution to the war effort of the Allies is known to everyone.

I regret the more that at a time when India's contribution has been so great ; when in so many ways her stature has been so enhanced, greater progress should not have been possible in the constitutional field during these years of war. That there should have been no greater progress is due to no lack of effort, or enthusiasm, or goodwill on the part of His Majesty's Government or of myself. From the very beginning of the war I have

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done everything that man could do to bring the parties and their leaders together ; to remove doubts as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government ; to achieve that sufficiency of common agreement among the parties and communities in this country, and that necessary preliminary acceptance of the legitimate claims of all, that must be the pre-condition of any constitutional advance that is worth having or that can hope for permanence. It will always be a sharp disappointment to me that these four years of war should, for all that effort, have seen us no nearer to our goal, and that, as I speak today, these internal divisions, these communal rivalries, that reluctance to place India first and to subordinate sectional ambitions and jealousies to the common interest of the country, should still stand in the way of progress.

As I have said elsewhere, those divisions, that lack of agreement, are due not to the reluctance of His Majesty's Government to transfer power to Indian hands, but to their very readiness to do so. But the fact, the lamentable fact, remains that to the grief of all of us, those divisions exist. Nor, during all that time, has a single constructive proposition—and I deeply regret to say it—been put forward by any Indian party. The whole burden of framing constructive proposals in relation either to the interim or the final solution has been left to His Majesty's Government and to myself. We, for our part, most anxious to give all the help we could, have tried one proposal after another, and we have done our best to harmonise the sharply conflicting claims that have faced us. The best that we can devise, informed as we are by centuries of experience of Parliamentary Government, has been freely offered. Yet, while one endeavour after another by His Majesty's Government to find a solution, fair to all parties and communities in India and acceptable to India as a whole, has been rejected by one party or the other, not

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one such practicable alternative proposal has been put forward by any one in this country.

Yet it is India herself, if India wants a change, that must find the solution to this problem. I sometimes think that public interest and discussion in this country has, in the past, centred too much on interim constitutional changes which, in the nature of things, must be transitory. Such changes cannot be a substitute for a constitution determined by ordinary processes and agreement ; processes which cannot be completed under the stress of war. Short cuts can only be a danger alike to present unity and postwar solutions. At the stage now reached the real problem to be faced is the future problem ; we must look forward and not backward.

And it is the need for India herself to find the solution that, in all friendliness and sincerity, I would most earnestly commend, Gentlemen, to your consideration today. I have said it before, and I say it again quite plainly, that the path to full and honourable co-operation with the Government of the country has always been open to those who desire it for its own sake. His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy can try to help, as they have tried in the past. But the burden is on India, on her leaders, on the principal elements in her national life. It is the discordance between those principal elements, the lack of trust, the lack of readiness to accept the legitimate claims of the minorities, or of parties, or of interests, that stand in the way. Those are obstacles that only Indians can remove.

And it is most important, and I would most earnestly urge this on you, that if there is to be any progress, Indian public men should without delay start to get together and to clear the way for it. The post-war phase is drawing rapidly nearer. His Majesty's Government, as you will remember, have voiced the hope that on the

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conclusion of the war Indians themselves may sit round a table and hammer out a constitution having the general support of all the principal elements in India's national life. Is India, are India's leaders, to be found unprepared when the day comes for those discussions? Is it not the course of wisdom to set to work at once, without wasting a day, to try, by discussion among themselves, to find in readiness for those discussions an accommodation of the differences that prevent progress at the moment, and to build a bridge over the profound gulfs that divide party from party and community from community? They alone can do it. The burden is on them, and not on His Majesty's Government.

And the whole field is open to them. If the proposals which His Majesty's Government have at one time or other put forward, in default of any proposals from the Indian leaders, are unacceptable to India as a whole, there is nothing to stop India's leaders from considering and devising an alternative, whatever its nature, or from trying by private negotiation with other parties in this country to secure their support for any such alternative. All I would say—and I say it again as a friend of India, and as one concerned to see her progress in whatever manner is best suited to her national genius and to the interests of all within her borders—is this—that whatever alternative and whatever scheme is devised must take account of practical considerations; must have the general support of all the important elements in India's national life. No scheme, however, good it may look on paper, that ignores important elements or interests, that overlooks the essential necessity for substantial agreement inside India as its basis, has any hope of surviving for long. A national Government can be a reality only if it is generally representative, if it has the general support of the major parties and of the people as a whole if its establishment leads to

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the assuaging of communal and other bitterness and rivalry, and to the harmonising of all the many divergent points of view that a country such as India, with its great range of climate, of races, its different historical traditions, must always present.

I would like to take this occasion to say a word of warm thanks to the Indian Press for all the help that it has given me during my time in India. Occasions there may have been when there were differences of view on matters connected with the Press ; misunderstandings there may have been from time to time. But I remain deeply grateful to this great institution for its fairness ; its eager anxiety to serve the public ; its concern to observe, and if possible to improve, the best traditions of journalism. And I would not like to leave India without paying this public tribute to it, and to that hard working body of intelligent and able men by whom India is so well served in the Press.

In a few weeks now I shall hand over the reins of office to my successor. In Field-Marshal Viscount Wavell India will have as Viceroy one who has proved himself through a long and glorious career one of the great leaders of men in the field ; and one of the outstanding soldiers of our time. But you will find in him also, and this I can say from personal experience of two years of close, intimate and most friendly collaboration, an understanding, wise and sagacious statesman ; a man of sound political sense and judgment ; a leader of courage and tenacity, whose wide human sympathy, whose affection for India and whose profound interest in her problems is well-known. In the difficult days that lie ahead—for the problems of peace are no less exhausting and complex than the problems we have had to face in the war—his ripe experience, his fresh and up-to-date knowledge of India and his

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sincerity and openness of mind will be of a value to this country that cannot be overstated.

I cannot leave you today, Gentlemen, without in conclusion paying a tribute to the spirit of the people of India, whether British India or the Indian States; to the confidence, enthusiasm and courage which they have shown through four years of a devastating and exhausting war, and to the cheerful readiness with which they have borne the many burdens that total war involves and the privations and hardships inseparable from it. Theirs has been a great achievement on the home front, as well as in the field, and one on which India will look back with pride and the world with admiration.

I would like, too, to say a word of sincere and heartfelt thanks to the personnel of all the Services in this country. To them is due great credit for all that they have done to maintain law and order, to deal with the innumerable problems of administration that war throws up, to grapple with the vital tasks that fall to be discharged by them in the interests of the people of India as a whole. Without their loyal, unfailing, and self-sacrificing public work, the administration of the country could not have been carried on, or India have made the contribution that she has so proudly and so gladly made to the victory of the Allied cause.

Gentlemen, I will keep you no longer. I thank you most warmly for the attention with which you have listened to me today. My best good wishes go to you, both individually, and as a Central Legislature, for the future, and my most cordial gratitude for all the work that I have been privileged to see you perform during my term of office, and for that public spirit that has so consistently marked your conduct of affairs.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH ON THE
OCCASION OF HIS INSPECTION OF REPRESENTATIVE
DETACHMENTS OF MILITARY UNITS IN
THE POONA AREA ON SATURDAY, THE 28TH
AUGUST 1943.**

28th August
1943.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech on the occasion of his inspection of representative detachments of military units in the Poona area on Saturday, the 28th August 1943 :—

I am very glad to see today representative detachments from units in the Poona area. Nothing has given me greater pleasure during the 7½ years that I have held charge as Viceroy than my close association with the armed forces in India. Your efficiency for war and your welfare have been to me matters of abiding interest and concern.

Many of you are serving far from your homes and from your own folk in the fourth year of a world-wide war. A quarter of a century ago I was with your fathers in another great war, so I know very well how you all feel about things and the kind of worries that sometimes creep into your minds. I know, too, that in the end you will be immensely proud to have taken part in this tremendous struggle. Many of you were at home in Britain during the fierce German attacks from air upon our cities in 1940. You can testify to the sublime courage with which that formidable onslaught was met and overcome by the men and women of our land. They endured and they triumphed because they felt that the causes for which we are waging this war were worth fighting for. They will be watching us, those brave and patient people, here in this theatre of war during the months before us and

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through the battles that must be fought. The cause at stake here is the very same one that they struggled for in the streets of our cities and villages throughout the *blitz* of 1940. It would not be of much use to have beaten the Germans and Italians if we were unable to settle accounts with the Japanese. I know your patience is being tested now, and I know too how very wearisome can be the time of waiting. I am sure you are keen to be at them and to get done with the job. Well, you will not have very long to wait now, and when the call comes I have every confidence that you will do yourselves high credit and bring fresh renown to the Imperial Arms.

To Indian troops represented on this parade I would say also this : Model your conduct in battle upon the performance of those of your brothers in arms who upon many a hard-fought battle have in this war added new laurels to the great name of their motherland. The safety of this country and its honour are in your care. When the day of battle comes, fight hard !

Meantime the duty of all of you is quite clear. It is to do your utmost, every man in his job, to raise the fighting efficiency of every unit, and the co-operation between units, to the highest possible pitch. Do not allow staleness to creep in. The tide has turned and things everywhere are going well for us. Now is the time to redouble our efforts, and when the opening comes to go for the ' knock-out '. Work on weapon drills and tactical exercises for all you are worth. You will be very well repaid for your pains when the days of trial come : that I can promise you. Wherever you go and whatever task you are called upon to perform, I wish you one and all the very best of luck.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE ALL-INDIA CATTLE SHOW SOCIETY ON WEDNESDAY, THE 1ST SEPTEMBER 1943.

1st September
1943.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Meeting of the Committee of the All-India Cattle Show Society on Wednesday, the 1st September 1943 :—

Gentlemen, I am particularly glad to have this last opportunity of presiding at a meeting of the Committee of the All-India Cattle Show Society. But although it is a pleasure to renew my acquaintance with all of you, I am sad to have to say good-bye to you. I think you all know that the improvement of the livestock of India is one of the causes nearest to my heart. Ever since I first began to study the problem in preparation for my duties as Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, I have taken an intense interest in this subject and I am sorry to think that in future I can only watch your activities from a considerable distance. Though the distance may be great I should like nevertheless to assure you that I shall not forget your past successes or fail to keep in touch with your future activities.

Since we held the first All-India Cattle Show in 1938 and since I addressed your inaugural meeting in July 1939 much indeed has happened and the world at large has had scant leisure to pay attention to problems of stock breeding. Yet in spite of all the difficulties which the war has engendered I think we can claim to have made considerable progress in this Society. All-India Shows, growing in size and importance each year, continued to be held until 1942. In that year we were compelled by transport problems to substitute three shows held in different parts of the country. But these shows too were an undoubted success and I am very glad that among the exhibits were included livestock other than cattle, such as session of a pedigree, should win the rewards at our shows,

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fulfilment of the hopes I expressed when I addressed your meeting in 1939.

The Society from the start has interested itself in propaganda. Indeed the All-India Cattle Show itself is of course one important form of propaganda and a form which has I think proved itself in practice. Ever since I have been in India I have tried, and you have ably abetted me, to lay a new emphasis on the importance of animal husbandry. It was necessary that the small man should come to understand that cattle improvement is possible even for him, that it is profitable in terms of cash both directly by sales and indirectly by increased produce, and that it has a supreme importance in terms of better living since more and better milk means healthier, more active and more intelligent children.

As a result of our shows I think it can be said that in many parts of India and especially where good breeds are already established, the small man owning only two or three yokes of oxen has in an appreciable number of cases come to realise the tremendous possibilities of cattle breeding. The District Officer in the remotest village may now find quite a humble cultivator asking to be allowed to show him an animal that has achieved the tremendous triumph of winning an award at Delhi. This is a development on which we may indeed congratulate ourselves and though it is obvious that we have only begun to come to grips with the outposts of the army of difficulties against which we have to fight we have achieved genuine success in our preliminary encounters.

From the beginning your Executive Committee have been perfectly right in stressing the importance of pedigree and great pains have been taken to see that only pure-bred stock, a description which usually connotes the possession of a pedigree, should win the rewards at our shows.

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At the same time the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has been dealing with the laborious but essential business of initiating Herd Books for the more highly developed breeds of cattle and buffaloes, such as the Sahiwal, Sindhi, and Haryana cattle and Murrah buffaloes. The Council has also been active in encouraging the formation of Breed and Milk Recording Societies. Breed Societies for the Sahiwal, Haryana, Kankrej and Kangayam cattle have already been formed. I sincerely hope that every effort will be made to form other such societies for important milch breeds such as the Sindhi and Gir. All such societies in order to succeed must be assured of the enthusiastic support of the big breeders in the tracts concerned and every opportunity should be taken to influence these gentlemen and secure their support.

The improvement of livestock is one of the problems which will be under detailed investigation by the Agricultural Reconstruction Committee being set up under the Chairmanship of the Hon'ble Member of Education, Health and Lands, who is also the President of this Society.

It is possible that this Society may be able to take an honourable part in securing that at some future date India may enact a law similar to that which is in force in some parts of Russia, where great progress has been made with the artificial insemination of livestock. In specified areas in Russia it is illegal for the female stock to be served except with the seminal fluid of a pedigree male. Before any such state of affairs can be brought about in India it will be necessary to overcome technical difficulties which are under investigation by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. And there are also intermediate stages of development to be considered. One of the necessities is to come to a conclusion on the much agitated problem of

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the dual purpose cow, by which term is meant one which will produce draught bullocks of standard capacity and provide enough milk both for the calf and for the owner's family. The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research are now financing three schemes with a view to discovering whether the production of such an animal is feasible. In case the answer is in the negative, it is satisfactory that this Society has not neglected the development of the buffalo, the popularity of which as a milch animal is on the increase.

As I have said, in 1942 we held three large shows in different parts of India. Further transport difficulties led us to modify this policy and in 1942-43, 33 local shows were held nearly all of which were highly successful. Indeed it is most gratifying that in the majority of cases the local authorities have asked for a guarantee that these shows will be continued at least for the period of the war. For the next cold weather the Executive Committee have prepared a programme to hold more than 40 shows and the approval of the General Committee for this programme will now be sought.

With the return of peace time conditions the Society will be faced with serious problems of finance. I hope these problems will be most carefully considered and that strong and constant support will be forthcoming both from the Princes and from other enthusiasts. I myself feel that it would be a major tragedy if the work of the Society were allowed to suffer. I am never tired of reiterating the national importance of an improvement in India's stock. In this immense agricultural country which feeds the largest population in the whole world, almost every seed that germinates owes its debt to the work of cattle in ploughing up the soil and almost every grain that is carried to the markets to feed the great urban

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech on the occasion of his visit to the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute at Izatnagar, on 6th September 1943.

populations is carried there by bullock transport. The health of every child, and not only the health but to a very large extent the intelligence of every child, and so the whole physical standard of India's millions depends largely on the quality and amount of milk available for children to drink. In fact cattle are in a real sense the basis of India's economy and the deep and traditional reverence paid to them by so many millions throughout this country has a very real and solid basis. Your work of encouraging a steady improvement of India's stock is of vital importance, and I am confident that in the time to come you will make a great contribution to the prosperity of the Indian countryside.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF HIS VISIT TO THE IMPERIAL VETERINARY RESEARCH INSTITUTE AT IZATNAGAR ON 6TH SEPTEMBER 1943. 6th September 1943.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech on the occasion of his visit to the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute at Izatnagar, on 6th September 1943.

It has been a real pleasure to me to have the opportunity of flying over here today and I am very glad to see you all. I think you all know how deep has been my concern for the advancement of research work in the veterinary field ever since I first made an intensive study of India's needs when I was Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. As Viceroy for 7½ years I have watched your progress with sympathy and interest and I should like to assure you what very high importance I attach to the work which you are doing here. ..

Your main institute was founded as long ago as 1890 but I can say with certainty that experience has fully justified the setting up of the Izatnagar sub-station, in

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1913 for the purpose of manufacturing biological products. In 1939 I had the privilege, when the Government of India decided to expand the available facilities for the study of other sciences connected with livestock improvement, of opening the Animal Nutrition Wing here and very valuable work has been done in the new laboratories I opened then.

It is unfortunate that buildings for the Animal Genetics Section and for two new blocks for vaccine production and Wool Research could not be constructed during the war. Many good causes have suffered during these years of strife and India would certainly have been the richer if this expansion of your accommodation had been achieved. At the moment however we all rejoice in the extremely encouraging war news and I trust when we have defeated Germany and Japan it may be found possible to proceed soon with the construction work you need.

Sound livestock improvement must be based on three major sciences, namely, animal genetics, animal nutrition and animal medicine, all of which are now provided for at Mukteswar and Izatnagar. If individual research workers play their part I think there is every reason to anticipate in the not too distant future great advances in this subject, advances that will be of lasting importance and I can think of nothing that is likely to be of greater benefit to the Indian cultivator and so to India at large. In such advances I have every confidence that Dr. Minett and his expert team will play a distinguished part.

I am most grateful to you for the welcome you have given me here today and for your kindness in showing me your work. I wish you all the very best of fortune and great success in your labours which are of such vital importance to India.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S FAREWELL MESSAGE TO THE CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD OF EDUCATION IN SEPTEMBER 1943.September
1943.

His Excellency the Viceroy's farewell message to the Central Advisory Board of Education in September 1943 :—

I greatly regret that owing to the pressure in these last few days of my Viceroyalty it is impossible for me to come to say farewell myself to the members of the Central Advisory Board of Education. India owes a great debt to the distinguished educationists who give their services on that Board, and their work is of particular significance at this moment, when post-war educational developments are of such very great importance. I shall always be sorry that owing to circumstances outside my control I was unable during my Viceroyalty to inaugurate that broad advance towards the establishment of a national system of education which I had in mind before war broke out. But I am glad to think that that most important issue is receiving serious consideration in connection with post-war planning, and I trust sincerely that the deliberations of the Board, and the wholehearted endeavours of so many in India who have the cause of education at heart, will bear fruit once the war is over.

When I contemplate the work that the Central Advisory Board have been able to do during my Viceroyalty, I cannot but be impressed by its range and its value. It has managed in spite of difficulties, to cover a large part of the ground on which a national system of education will have to be erected. Its reports have covered some of the most vital educational issues of the day, and have provided a nucleus of accurate and balanced information which will immensely simplify the task of those who plan and execute our further advances in this field. Its work has been a great encouragement to me, and I wish it and its members all success in the task that lies before them and in the future.

4th October
1943.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S MESSAGE TO THE
CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD OF HEALTH ON THE
4TH OCTOBER 1943.**

His Excellency the Viceroy's message to the Central Advisory Board of Health on the 4th October 1943 :—

When I spoke at the inaugural meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Health in 1937, I expressed the conviction that the Board would serve a useful purpose in providing facilities for discussion of the problems of common interest affecting the health and well-being of the inhabitants of the Provinces and States in India. The reports issued by the Board during the past five years provide an authoritative basis for the development of health administration in many directions and show that my confidence was justified. It is largely owing to the war and certainly no fault of yours that in many cases effect has not yet been given to your recommendations. We all are anxious to see after the war an era of determined effort to raise the Indian standard of living and I have no doubt that the work of the Board will be of great assistance to Provincial Governments in preparing their post-war planning programmes in the public health field.

One of the main questions you have to consider at the present meeting is planning for this post-war development. Health administration, if it is to achieve any substantial results, demands considered programme, and any attempt to deal piecemeal with the many and varied problems involved can but lead to a dissipation of effort and of financial resources. I would like to emphasise again in the connection the importance of securing that as our towns expand their housing and sanitation schemes are prepared on the right lines. It has been a great pleasure to me to authorise the appointment of the Central Health Survey and Development Committee which has recently been announced and I am convinced that it will produce results of the utmost value. Your work in the past and your deliberations

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Unveiling Ceremony of the Bust of his Late Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner in the Chamber of Princes Hall on Thursday, the 14th October 1943 :—

at this meeting will I know assist that Committee in its task.

I am very glad indeed to have had this opportunity before I leave India of conveying to you all my good wishes. I trust and believe that public opinion will become steadily more conscious of the imperative need to spend money and thought on planning for public health. I am sure that the Board will prove equal to its ever widening opportunities and that it will be able to continue to contribute to the solution of the vital problem of public health, on which so largely depends the happiness and well-being of India and of her people. Good-bye and all success to you.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S SPEECH AT THE UNVEILING CEREMONY OF THE BUST OF HIS LATE HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER IN THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES HALL ON THURSDAY, THE 14TH OCTOBER 1943.

14th October
1943.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Unveiling Ceremony of the Bust of his Late Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner in the Chamber of Princes Hall on Thursday, the 14th October 1943 :—

Your Highness.—In spite of the profound feelings of loss and regret which must inevitably pervade this sad prelude to our session I count myself fortunate to be afforded, in response to the kind invitation voiced on Your Highnesses' behalf by your Chancellor, this opportunity to pay, in this Chamber which he loved so well and which has so often resounded to his eloquence, one more tribute to the great personality of Maharaja Sir Ganga Singhji of Bikaner and his outstanding services to the Princely Order.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech at the Unveiling Ceremony of the Bust of his Late Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner in the Chamber of Princes Hall on Thursday, the 14th October 1943 :—

The occasion when, in March 1941, I had the honour to unveil the effigies of three other distinguished Princes, all of whom, as I then remarked, had just claims to be described as fathers of this Chamber, is still fresh in my memory. To many who were present on that occasion the thought must have occurred, as it certainly did to me, that the last of the four niches in the wall before me was inevitably reserved for the Maharaja of Bikaner, whose services to this Chamber, which His Highness the Chancellor has just recounted, were—and are perhaps likely to remain—unique and unparalleled. And in all our minds that thought must have been accompanied by the hope that His Highness might yet be spared for many years and that India and the King-Emperor might count upon him at least until the war had been won. But that hope was not to be fulfilled and the fourth niche is no longer empty.

The services and achievements which we are commemorating today have been so fully and feelingly reviewed by your Chancellor that it is unnecessary for me to recapitulate them. I would only associate myself with all that he has said and again express my gratitude for the opportunity to salute the memory of His late Highness not only as a great and inspiring leader but as one whose personal friendship I am proud to have enjoyed through so many years. The inspiration of a great poet enables him sometimes to say in a few pregnant words something that an ordinary mortal could not achieve even in pages of laboured prose. And no one, I think, would grudge to the late Maharaja of Bikaner the application of familiar lines which, though written centuries ago, seem to me incomparably appropriate on this sad occasion :—

“ He was a man. Take him for all in all, we shall not look upon his like again”.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES ON THURSDAY, THE 14TH OCTOBER 1943. 14th October 1943.

His Excellency the Viceroy's Farewell Address to the Chamber of Princes on Thursday, the 14th October 1943 :—

Your Highnesses,—I am very glad to meet Your Highnesses again, and to have this opportunity before I lay down my present office of saying these words of farewell to you. I realise only too well how great the inconvenience is which many of Your Highnesses have suffered in visiting Delhi in present difficulties of accommodation and transport, and I am the more grateful to you all for your presence, in numbers unprecedented since the inauguration of the Chamber, here today.

This, the 19th meeting of the Chamber of Princes, since its inauguration in 1921, is the last of six such meetings over which I have had the honour of presiding and, owing to various difficulties which prevented our assembling as usual in March, has had to be postponed up to the very verge of my departure from India. But I am glad to think that since we last met the face of the war has changed in a manner that even the most optimistic of us could hardly have hoped for. Today we can look back on the great and splendid achievements of the fighting forces in every theatre of war through the months that have passed since we last came together. The great changes that have taken place, the outstanding victories of the Allied arms, have brought us very perceptibly nearer to the goal we are all so anxious to reach. And they have brought us perceptibly nearer, too, to the point at which the investigation and the solution of post-war problems is a matter of immediate and imperative necessity.

Let me first pay tribute to the memory of those who are no longer with us. Since our last meeting, six members of the Chamber have passed away—Their Highnesses

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of Bikaner, Jhalawar, Ajaigarh and Jhabua, the Raja of Khilchipur and the Raja of Kurundwad (Junior) who was a Representative Member. And I have just heard with very great regret of the death of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin, whose State I had the pleasure of visiting less than two months ago, and who had done so much in the short period of his rule for the good of his people.

His Highness the Chancellor will be voicing our tribute to these departed Princes. I will only add to what I have already said this morning about His Highness of Bikaner, a special word of deep regret at the untimely demise of His Highness of Jhalawar, a prince of exceptional promise, selflessly devoted to the discharge of his high responsibilities. Rarely, if ever, did he fail to attend the meetings of this Chamber, and his absence today leaves a gap which we all deplore.

To those who have succeeded to Rulership and membership of this Chamber I offer a most cordial welcome. To His Highness of Bikaner we confidently look to carry on the great services rendered to the Order of Princes by his illustrious father. It is a pleasure, too, to see here today for the first time the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior and Their Highnesses of Dhrangadhra, Manipur and Jhabua, and also the Rajas of Baghat and Kurundwad (Senior) and the Rao of Jigni who have been elected as Representative Members since our last meeting. Nor must I omit to mention the recent admission to membership of the Raja of Shahpura, the Nawab of Kurwai and the Rajas of Talcher, Kalsia and Phaltan, four of whom we are glad to welcome in person today.

I have spoken already of the magnificent progress that has been made in every theatre of the war by the Allied arms, progress so profoundly encouraging to all of us who have been through the dark days through which we have

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lived since the beginning of the war. Much still lies before us. It will be a mistake to underestimate the strength and the determination of the forces that are opposed to us. We may yet have many anxious months before victory is achieved. But it is a happiness to me before I leave India to be able to feel that circumstances have so amply justified the guarded optimism which I permitted myself in previous addresses to this Chamber. And it is a happiness to me, too, to be able with pride and gratitude for the last time to review the services which have been rendered by the Princes of India in this titanic struggle.

Naturally, my thoughts turn first to the sphere of active operations and I would at the outset warmly thank and congratulate those of Your Highnesses who have been able to hearten and encourage the troops by personal visits to the various Fronts.

I would wish, too, to pay a special tribute to the invaluable assistance in the war effort that has been given by His Highness the Chancellor. Not only has His Highness rendered service of great value as one of the Representatives of India at the War Cabinet. He has taken advantage of his absence from India to perform sterling service as one of the spokesmen of this great country overseas. And he has spared no pains to acquaint himself in the fullest detail with the organisation of war effort in the United Kingdom. I hope that in the course of this session we shall hear from His Highness himself some account of his experiences. But, for myself, I would like to add my testimony to the value of his contribution, the importance of the contacts he has made, the encouragement that his visit has given to the troops and to the munition workers that he has visited.

The Indian States Forces have taken full advantage of the opportunities that have come to them to win fresh

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distinction on the battlefield. Comparisons are rash. And such distinction is of course largely dependant upon opportunity. But I would mention the gallant record of the Kashmir Mountain Battery, the 1st Patiala Infantry, the Jind Infantry, the Jodhpur Sardar Infantry, two Jaipur Battalions, the Tripura Rifles and the Tehri-Garhwal and Malerkotla Sappers and Miners. Nor should I fail to record my gratitude for the manner in which the States as a whole have adopted the scheme devised to raise the standard of efficiency among the higher ranks of their Forces. I realise and appreciate the difficulties that may on occasion confront Your Highnesses in these and other connected matters. But I know too that you on your part will recognise that the first duty of the Military Adviser-in-Chief is to devise schemes to rectify such deficiencies as come to notice under the stress and strain of war. A new scheme for the exchange of officers, and another for providing advanced training for State units will I understand shortly be put forward. I am convinced that Your Highnesses will continue to view such proposals with sympathy and realism, and that I and my successor can look for your full co-operation over them.

Nor has the active aid of the States in the actual war zones been confined to combatant units. Invaluable assistance, at a time of very real and pressing need, has been lent by the Indian States in providing labour units for the construction of roads and aerodromes. Our gratitude is due in very special measure to the great States of the South, whose contributions in this sphere have been, and continue to be, outstanding. From Travancore and Cochin over 70,000 men have travelled north to carve out roads to be traversed by the fighting soldiers, and in doing so to face the perils of disease. Those who have laid down their lives side by side with the fighting man in the fever

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infested belts in which so much has had to be done, have sacrificed themselves as truly as any fighting soldier for their motherland, and we salute their memory today.

But it is not only to humble homes that the war has brought sad and untimely bereavements. I spoke last year of an Heir-Apparent who had met his death in the course of his duties as an officer of the Indian Air Force. Since then a similar blow has fallen upon two other members of this Chamber and I feel sure that Your Highnesses would wish me to tender deep sympathy and condolences to the Raja of Sangli and the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj.

For the rest, contributions and offers of personal services, aircraft, buildings, labour, watercraft, machinery, training facilities and medical aid, donations and gifts of every sort and description, have continued to pour in from Indian States in an ever widening stream. I cannot speak too highly of the magnificent response consistently made by the Indian States to the urgent needs of this critical time. They have shown unstinted generosity and co-operation : thanks to their help, great aerodromes, strategical projects of every kind, have sprung up in the territory of the Indian States. Facilities of every kind have been most readily granted not only to British and Indian forces, but to the forces of our Allies ; and in particular certain States, at the cost of wide stretches of famous forests most carefully guarded in the past, have helped immensely in the training of men in the new science of jungle warfare.

I referred in my last address to the steadily expanding scope of measures to achieve the maximum co-ordination of effort between the States and British India. Instances of such co-operation could be multiplied indefinitely and there is no time to catalogue them today. But

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I would make mention of one notable incident in which a group of hostile agents were arrested with most commendable promptitude almost immediately after they had landed from an enemy submarine on the shores of an Indian State. Further and most valuable demonstrations of this united front, as between the States and Provinces, are to be found in the more prosaic but not less vital sphere of war time legislation, where States have most willingly and comprehensively applied to their territories the British Indian Ordinances and other arrangements devised to meet the various emergencies which have been constantly arising.

Let me add one further instance in which the States and their subjects are making an important contribution to our resources. The Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department was, up to the outbreak of war, functioning on commercial lines as a self-supporting organisation making no contribution to the general revenues of British India. Such an arrangement is of course only fair to the States who by entering, as the vast majority of them have done, into postal unity with British India, undertook no liability to submit to indirect taxation in the form of surcharges on the normal economic rates for the transmission of letters and telegrams. The exigencies of war time finance have however compelled the Government of India, following in this matter the lead of the Government of the United Kingdom, to raise the postal and telegraphic rates for the express purpose of making a substantial surplus available as a contribution towards war expenditure. It was of course impracticable to confine this process to British India, and it is with deep appreciation that I learn that the States are pressing no objection to the additional financial burden which it places on themselves and on their subjects. The financial value of that burden

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cannot immediately be precisely computed. But given the areas and the populations affected, it cannot but be substantial. And its acceptance is yet another and a most valuable voluntary contribution by the Indian States towards the prosecution of the war.

The same uniform and wholehearted co-operation has been shown in regard to those grim problems of the war which have been so distressingly prominent during the current year—food, cloth, inflation. In our efforts to combat the food crisis we have had the benefit of full association at every stage with accredited representatives of the States. Those who have a surplus have freely placed it at our disposal. Those in deficiency have of course participated in the common resources. I could but wish that those resources had proved more adequate to their needs. I have particularly in mind the States of Travancore and Cochin which, deprived of their normal supplies of Burma rice, have borne a particularly heavy burden. I would like to pay a tribute both to the efforts made by the States Governments concerned, with which I was able to acquaint myself at first hand during my recent visit to South India, to cope with a situation so distressing, and to the patience and fortitude of the population so sorely tried.

All over India the States have lent full support to the "Grow more food" campaign. I would beg them to continue and if possible to increase that support. The need is great—we must leave nothing undone not merely to banish the threat of famine, but to accumulate those reserves of food that are so important a guarantee for the future.

To those States of Rajputana where sudden floods have recently caused such grave loss of life and property

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our sympathy and our admiration of the courage and energy with which all concerned have applied themselves to the work of remedy and repairs go out in full measure.

In the steps that have had to be taken to remedy the shortage of cloth there is the same record of friendly helpfulness. Many important centres of the textile industry are situated in Indian States, and I am deeply grateful to the States concerned for the manner in which they have placed the products of their looms at the disposal of the Central Government ; often at no small sacrifice to themselves.

Inflation is one of the gravest problems that faces us today. It is a problem in the handling of which the States and British India are equally concerned, and in which they have a common interest. Action to combat inflation is essential, for it is a threat to every one of us, and to India as a whole. I realise that anti-inflationary measures present a complex problem in the case of the States, having regard to the varying conditions of their fiscal arrangements and their relative backwardness in industrial development. But I know that Your Highnesses share my view that the question is one that must be resolutely tackled. And I look for valuable results from the discussions that I myself have had with some of you on this topic, discussions which my Political Adviser is, on my behalf, continuing and developing during this week. I would like to take this opportunity to make it clear beyond any question that such checks and prohibitions as it has been necessary to apply are based solely upon the present overriding need to conserve and regulate the resources of the country as a whole so that the output of essential supplies should not be curtailed or disturbed for the benefit of local or personal interests. There is not, and

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there cannot be, any question of their being designed to stifle the birth, of the progress, of industrial development in the Indian States.

Matters such as these, and others too numerous to mention, will of course come under review in connection with post-war development and reconstruction. The plans of the Central Government for dealing with that great problem are already well advanced. I am glad to be able to assure Your Highnesses that they contain full provision for associating your States with its numerous ramifications, and I am glad too to think that many of your ablest Ministers are included in the various Committees that are being set up.

Public opinion must inevitably take the closest interest in these activities of reconstruction. I am the more grateful for the response of so many States to the advice which I offered to you at our last session in regard to the National War Front movement. That movement was established when the war outlook was dark and threatening. As the intervening months have passed, it has developed into a publicity organisation concerned with every aspect of public morale. It is some measure of Your Highness' support of this vital work that in 15 months, 287 States have brought War Front organisations into being. That is a response of which the States have every right to be proud and, as the founder of the Movement, I congratulate Your Highnesses on it. And, though the name of the War Front Movement must ultimately die, the spirit and work behind it should live. For it contains tremendous potentialities for establishing means by which the good in man and in life may be more widely known and the things that are evil challenged and destroyed.

Before I leave the dominating topic of the war I would add a few words of appreciation of the generosity shown by so many of Your Highnesses towards refugees

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from other countries whose sufferings have been immensely greater than ours. In particular I have in mind your aid towards establishing a temporary refuge in India for a great number of Polish children. Here again I must refer to the outstanding energy and personal interest, and to the most generous personal aid, which has been given by His Highness the Chancellor. What he has done for Polish children will long be remembered, not only by those children to whom his kindness has been so real, but by the great Polish nation. I should mention also the similar settlement in the Kolhapur State where facilities have been most readily and generously provided and where the personal sympathy of Her Highness the Maharani Regent has been of the utmost value.

Time presses and I have much to say on matters of even greater importance, but I could not forgive myself if I failed today to thank Your Highnesses for your lavish support in two matters unconnected with the war but specially near to the hearts of Her Excellency and myself. I refer of course to my wife's Anti-Tuberculosis campaign and to the activities of the All-India Cattle Show Society.

I cannot over-estimate my sense of the importance of the Anti-Tuberculosis campaign. It is I am certain of profound significance to the future of this country. And it is a very real happiness to my wife, who has spared no effort for it during her time here, and to myself, to think that we leave India with the campaign against this scourge so firmly established. The support of the All-India Cattle Show Society by more than 60 States has been continuous and invaluable. I am grateful in particular that it should have been greater even than before in this current year in spite of the other numerous demands on your resources. I feel certain that the work of the Society merits in the fullest degree the friendly co-operation of Your Highnesses,

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and that it responds to instincts deeply rooted in every great agricultural country. The fighting against tuberculosis, the struggle to improve India's cattle and so the condition of the peasant and the countryside, are very close to the hearts of both of us, and my wife and I, I can assure you, will in the days after we have left India, continue to take the liveliest and most vivid interest in both.

I turn now to a different field, and I would ask Your Highnesses to bear with me while I indulge in some reflections on more basic and possibly more controversial matters, reflections prompted by seven and a half years of such intimate association with the intricate and sometimes baffling problems presented by the Indian States and by the real and sincere interest which I have always taken in them and in their welfare. It has been suggested to me more than once that the immense aggregate importance of these States as an element in the Indian continent, and their vital concern in the solution of all Indian problems, have not always been fully appreciated. I cannot believe that that can be the case, or that any well-informed observer can fail to realise the vast area which the Indian States occupy, the size of their population, their great resources, the outstanding place which they hold in the history of India, and the extent to which the future of this great sub-continent must be, and is, of immediate and profound concern to them. But the very size and importance of the Indian States as a whole makes the problems that Your Highnesses, and the Crown Representative of the day, have to face the more significant.

Your Highnesses have often heard me refer both in my previous addresses to this Chamber, and in other places, to my own view of the significance and value of the Federal scheme which was the coping-stone of the Act of 1935. There was no doubt much that could be said in point

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of detail against that scheme. Equally, as I have said before, much could have been and can be urged against any scheme that can be devised for the constitutional future of India. But just as I have always believed that the Federal scheme was the best answer that could at that time have been devised for the problems of British India, equally it was, and is my sincere belief that such a scheme is the best answer from the point of view of the Indian States, and from the point of view of India as a whole. Events beyond our control have necessitated changes in our plans, and to some extent have altered the circumstances with which we have to deal and in which we have to build. But speaking here to Your Highnesses today for the last time I wish to reaffirm my faith and confidence in the Federal ideal, and in the contribution which the realisation with general support of that ideal, whatever adjustments might prove necessary in regard to particular aspects of it, would make to Indian unity and to the constitutional future of India.

And when I speak of unity I need not emphasise to Your Highnesses the importance of all of us standing together in the conditions of the modern world. It is very difficult for units, however, large; whatever their form of Government; whatever their resources, to exist save in relation to, and as part of, a larger whole. The bonds that link units one to another may be light as gossamer. But they exist: they are there: and their strength and their significance cannot be denied. If that is true of a continent as large as Europe, it is true, I am certain, equally of this great sub-continent of India: And inside that sub-continent it holds good equally especially when common interests are so largely involved, of the Indian States. That that unity is wholly consistent with the survival and the orderly development of the Indian States;

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that the Indian States with their distinguished history ; with their special relations with the Crown so fully recognised, based as they are on treaties, sanads, and engagements ; with their long tradition, can make a great and useful contribution to India's future I never have doubted, and I do not doubt today. It must be our business to see in what way that contribution can best be made, and what best can be its character.

I spoke just now of survival accompanied by development. The juxtaposition of these two words is of deep and vital significance, as I knew that Your Highnesses fully realise. There have been great developments of recent years, profound changes, new forces, new ideas, a new attitude of mind in the international field. All these facts have to be taken into account. And in the face of them you and I, who have to live in the world of today, must think and act realistically. It would be an injustice to Your Highnesses were I to assume that any reasonable man amongst you would deny that the Crown's obligations to protect carry with them equally binding responsibilities to ensure, if need be, that what is protected continues to be worthy of protection. On the contrary I am glad to think that that most important proposition is widely accepted among you. I can claim during the period of my Vicerealty to have spared no effort to assist Your Highnesses to give effect to the principles that underlie it. And I should indeed have regarded it not only as a dereliction of my duty but as a grave disservice to the Princely Order had I in the least degree relaxed my efforts to do so.

When I last addressed this Chamber I referred to three particular directions towards which those efforts were, in consultation and co-operation with Your Highnesses, being exerted.

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I spoke firstly of the decisive necessity in regard to the smaller States of some form of co-operative measures to secure a standard of administrative efficiency which is beyond their individual resources. That progress has since continued with encouraging results—particularly in Eastern India, from which area I am glad to see so many Rulers present today. I congratulate them on what they have been able to achieve and I look forward with confidence to its consolidation and extension. In other areas too progress has been made and new ideas are afoot. But I have become increasingly conscious of the difficulties which arise, not so much from any lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Rulers concerned as from the nature of the foundations on which they have to build. I devoutly wish that these difficulties could before my departure from India have been surmounted by the formulation and application of general principles acceptable to all concerned. But in matters so delicate undue haste might well have defeated the object in view. I have had to content myself therefore with giving instructions that the progress hitherto achieved and the difficulties thereby revealed shall within the next few weeks be systematically reviewed and considered by my advisers, so that thereafter, so soon as can conveniently be arranged, my successor may be able to initiate discussions either with the Standing Committee or with selected representatives of the category of States principally concerned, from which discussions a clear plan of action may emerge. I appeal most earnestly to Your Highnesses to co-operate whole-heartedly in these processes. For I regard them, and I cannot emphasise this too strongly as being literally of vital importance for the vast majority of you.

Your Highnesses will realise that measures such as these to which I now refer, involving as they do a certain

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measure of sacrifice on the part of those small units to which I have mentioned, do at the same time represent a most valuable contribution to the improvement of administration, and to the removal of criticism, consistently with the survival and development, by means of co-operation among themselves or under the aegis of larger States, of the smaller States affected. The sacrifices involved, as I have observed to Your Highnesses on previous occasions, are an inevitable accompaniment of the co-operative method. But I feel no shadow of doubt that they are justified in terms of the benefits involved, whether we test those benefits by the improvement of the standard of administrative services and amenities or by wider political considerations. A heavy obligation rests upon us all. And that obligation makes it difficult—and I am certain that Your Highnesses agree with me, to view with equanimity conditions in which, owing to the smallness of the area, or of the resources, of individual States, it may be impossible to secure the application of modern standards of justice, or of administration, to the inhabitants of the area concerned.

I would add that the line of argument which I have been following in regard to small States is no less applicable to the Jagirs and *Thikanas* which, though forming an integral part of certain States, still maintain some semblance of jurisdictional and administrative machinery. Let me make it clear beyond any question that the times are no longer propitious for Jagirdars and Thakurs who seeks to assert or perpetuate a semi-independence wholly incompatible with their limited resources, and so, inevitably harmful to the interests of the inhabitants of the areas concerned.

I spoke also at the last session of this Chamber of a scheme for safeguarding standards of administrations

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particularly after the period of a Ruler's minority, by the application of formal constitutional methods for the transaction of State business. I referred too to the difficult and delicate problem of determining what proportion of a State's revenue can appropriately be earmarked for the use of the Ruler and his family, and what precisely are the items which should legitimately come within the scope of Civil Lists and Privy Purses. Here again I am denied the satisfaction of seeing final decisions reached during the period of my Viceroyalty. I deeply regret that that should be the case. For the issue is one of prime importance. And it is one in which close and critical interest is taken not only in India, but far outside the borders of this country. I do therefore sincerely trust that in regard to it an early solution, and one that may command general commendation not only in this country but outside, may be forthcoming. The recent discussions between representative Princes and my advisers have been of real value, and I confidently hope that they will shortly yield those solid and generally acceptable results to which I have just referred.

I would like to take this occasion to say how much as Crown Representative I value the advice and the frank expression of the views of representative Princes in matters such as this. For the decisions that have to be taken by the Crown Representative are often grave ones, and he will, I am sure, at all times be anxious to be assured, before he reaches a conclusion that he is fully cognisant of the views of the Princely Order on matters so directly concerning members of that Order, and of the considerations that weigh with them.

Your Highnesses will realise, as I do, that the problems that face you today are far from simple, and that there lies ahead a period in which problems more difficult

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still may have to be confronted. If the best interests of the States, the best interests of India, are to be safeguarded, we must be at pains to face the facts and be willing, even at the cost of sacrifice, to make such adjustments as the turn of world events makes necessary. I know from my own extensive journeyings among the States to what an extent certain Indian States have become an example and an inspiration to other parts of India. It must be our object to ensure that that shall be the case in every area. And, indeed, it is essential in the interests of the States and in the interests of their survival that they should not fall below modern standards of administration in any way. I need not assure Your Highnesses as I talk of those difficult and delicate matters that to the extent that I, or my representatives on my instructions, have had to take a particular line in regard to co-operative measures and the like, I have been concerned solely—and it is the true and legitimate function in this sphere of the Crown Representative—to awaken the indifferent to consciousness of the dangers that threaten them ; to point out deficiencies ; to suggest remedies ; to co-ordinate individual initiatives for the benefit of all. But you may be certain that at all times the underlying consideration that has governed any decisions that I have had to take, and that will, I am sure, govern such decisions as may fall to be taken by my successors, is that the Indian States shall fit themselves to play that great and positive part in the development of India as a whole which their importance and their history justifies ; and that it is to the interest of the Princely Order that such weaknesses as may today exist, whether in administration or organisation, shall be eliminated with the minimum of delay.

I would not like to conclude my observations today without again thanking Your Highnesses and the Princely

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Order for the invaluable help that you have given to the war effort, and without thanking you, too, for the help that I have had in the efforts I have made while I have been Viceroy to further the modernization of administration in the States, and for the help you have given me on so very many critical issues directly affecting the well-being and the future of your States. These are testing times—all of us realise that. But Your Highnesses represent great and distinguished traditions and the Indian States do as a whole represent a great potentiality for good in the times that lie before us. On the eve therefore of my laying down the great office which I have had the honour to hold I appeal to Your Highnesses here today, and through you to the Princely Order and to all who exercise authority and influence in the Indian States, to see to it that the splendid opportunity lying before the Rulers of those States is not missed, and to ensure that advantage is taken of it with such vigour and foresight, with such judicious blending of old and new, with such subordination of narrow personal and local interests, to true patriotism that the future of India—of the Indian States in close collaboration with British India—may be ensured, and that future generations may remember with gratitude the part played by the leaders of Princely India in securing the stability of that common and glorious inheritance.

When next this Chamber meets it will be under the Chairmanship of the great soldier and distinguished administrator who is now about to succeed me as Viceroy. Lord Wavell's wide range of knowledge and experience, the interest that he has always taken in the Indian States, are well-known to Your Highnesses; and in the difficulties and the problems that have to be faced by the Indian States, I know that in him the States will have a wise, sagacious, and sympathetic friend. And now before I

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close my address let me thank you all once again, and that most warmly and sincerely, for all the help and the constant and generous support that you have given to me in the 7-1½ years during which I have had the honour to preside over the deliberations of Your Highnesses, and to represent the Crown in its dealings with the Indian States and the Princely Order.

SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY IN REPLY
TO THE FAREWELL ADDRESS PRESENTED BY
THE NEW DELHI MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE ON
SATURDAY, THE 16TH OCTOBER 1943.

16th October
1943.

Speech by His Excellency the Viceroy in Reply to the Farewell Address Presented by the New Delhi Municipal Committee on Saturday, the 16th October 1943 :—

Mr. Bryant, Mrs. Sumer Chand and Gentlemen,—
On Her Excellency's behalf and my own I thank you most warmly for your address by which we have been deeply touched. Your city has been our home for 7 1½ eventful and laborious years, years in which we have known both satisfaction and disappointment, years of sunshine and shadow, of storm and intermittently of calm, years certainly that will live in our recollection always. Let me at once say how much pleasure it has given my wife and myself to receive a token of such generous appreciation from a body of such standing and distinction as yours.

As you say, we have both taken a very real interest in the capital city and I for my part derive very special pleasure from your tribute to Her Excellency's work in India. You have in New Delhi a permanent anti-Tuberculosis Clinic started as the result of her great

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appeal.* The initiative she took has led to a considerable measure of solid achievement in this vital field and I can testify to the many hours of hard labour and thought that she has devoted to this and other good causes.

The interrupted schemes for developing further the amenities of the capital were dear to both of us and we shall hope, after the war, to read of their completion. At present, as you fully recognise, it is out of the question to go ahead with any building projects unless they are immediate necessities, and usually they must be connected with the war effort. It is however gratifying to think that the anti-malaria scheme, thanks to the devoted efforts of an expert band of workers, has been so very successful and has become a model for the whole world. It is good of you to recognise my own share in the inception and carrying through of this great scheme for which many thousands have daily (and nightly) reason to be thankful.

Your municipality quite properly expects to be able to look to the Government of India and ultimately to the Viceroy himself for special interest and encouragement. So you will I know share my own deep satisfaction that I should be handing over this office to a successor of such exceptional distinction and well-proved wisdom as Lord Wavell. The burden on the Viceroy was always heavy and the war has made it doubly so. But I know Lord Wavell, and I feel very confident that in his assistance to you over the affairs of New Delhi as in the wider sphere he will demonstrate most conclusively that His Majesty the King-Emperor could not have made a sounder choice of Viceroy. I am glad also to think too that you will have a friend at Court in the new Private Secretary whom I appointed as Chief Commissioner of Delhi and who is

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exceptionally well aware of your needs and of your difficulties.

You express anxiety about the removal after the war of the many temporary buildings which must be admitted to mar the beauty of the city. As I announced in my recent speech to the houses of the legislature it is the definite policy of the Government of India to remove those buildings as soon as possible. It is the intention that all the temporary buildings that have been constructed for use as offices and hostels, &c., in the neighbourhood of the Secretariat in the Irwin Stadium, near the Willingdon aerodrome, in the neighbourhood of Connaught Circus and in various blocks, which, under the New Delhi Development Scheme, had been allotted for other purposes will be removed as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities. That removal will be a welcome sign of the outright victory which we all intend to win. When the day of victory dawns and the enemies of man's progress are humbled and cast down, we shall all look forward, and I think with good reason, to a brilliant future for this city. Resources will be available for undertaking a great effort to raise the standard of living throughout India's territories, and New Delhi will certainly gain at least indirect benefit : while additional advantage will accrue from the development of air travel for which this seems likely to be an important nodal point.

Her Excellency and I will watch your progress with intense and personal interest. We thank you again most warmly for coming to bid us farewell and for the very generous terms of your address. We wish you all good fortune and success.

* Goodbye to you all.